A Syntactic Description of Biblical Hebrew Poetry: The Revised and Extended *Hebrew Verse Structure* Model

by

Rachel Anne-Lyne Krohn

A Doctoral Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Wycliffe College and the Graduate Centre for Theological Studies of the Toronto School of Theology.
In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Theological Studies awarded by Wycliffe College and the University of Toronto.

© Copyright by Rachel Anne-Lyne Krohn 2021

A Syntactic Description of Biblical Hebrew Poetry: The Revised and Extended *Hebrew Verse Structure* Model

Rachel Anne-Lyne Krohn

Doctor of Philosophy in Theological Studies

Wycliffe College and the University of Toronto

2021

Abstract

This study applies generative linguistics to the study of Biblical Hebrew (BH) poetry. The traditional approach to BH poetry assumes that BH poems are arranged in a series of semantically parallel couplets. Biblical scholars have long viewed this approach to BH poetry as deficient, but have continued to work within this framework in the absence of a clear and compelling alternative. In *Hebrew Verse Structure* (1980; reprint, Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1997), Michael P. O'Connor advocated a new approach to BH poetry that he called the Syntactic Description. The Syntactic Description was based on principles of generative grammar because O'Connor argued that the conventions of BH poetry were primarily syntactic rather than semantic. In this study I argue that the fundamentals of O'Connor's approach were sound, but his approach needs to be updated and revised before it will become a viable alternative to the prevailing parallelistic approach. To that end, I put forward the Revised and Extended *Hebrew Verse Structure* Model for reading BH poetry, an approach that updates and extends O'Connor's model for analyzing biblical poetry. I then analyze two poems, 2 Sam 1:19-27 and Lamentations 1, to demonstrate the viability of the Revised and Extended *Hebrew Verse Structure* Model and to advocate a movement away from the traditional approach to BH poetry.

Acknowledgments

This work would not be possible without the support of Wycliffe College's Bursary fund and Wycliffe College Principal's Discretionary Fund. My heartfelt thanks go to Bishop Stephen Andrews and Brenda Jenkins for their support and kindness over the past six years.

The key to any academic success lies in befriending competent librarians. Adrienne Findley-Jones, thank you for your assistance over the years. Another key to success lies in a competent psychotherapist. Dr. Ivy Brooker, thank you for shepherding me through dark times.

Thank you to Marion Taylor for recognizing and affirming my work and for providing me with opportunities to teach, grow, and learn.

Rebecca Idestrom has been a faithful mentor and friend to me for several years. Your quiet faith and persistent prayer for your students has been an inspiring example of Christian scholarship. Thank you for allowing me to work alongside you.

I am grateful for the mentorship of Ann Jervis, whose grace and intelligence is unmatched, and whose scholarship inspires me to be both meticulous and faithful.

My taking on a work of this complexity was foolhardy in the extreme. Heartfelt thanks go to my advisor Robert Holmstedt for his willingness to guide me through thorny matters of syntax, and whose support is only outstripped by his academic rigour and incredible work ethic. Thank you also to John McLaughlin, whose wit and sharp mind have challenged and encouraged me. Thank you to W. Dennis Tucker, Jr., for his thoughtful engagement with my work, and to Sarianna Metso for her intelligent questions and kind collegiality.

Thank you to Iain Provan, who taught me that true scholarship can be both rigorous and confessional, whose living faith and charitable comportment continues to provide a standard for all of my professional interactions, and whose mentorship and friendship has extended far beyond my years at Regent College.

To my colleagues at Trinity College Queensland, thank you for your support, love, prayer, and care.

God has surrounded me with a large number of extremely good people who have carried me through this process. Leigh Silcox, thank you for your sympathetic ear, holy rage, and fearless truth-telling. SuetMing Yeong, thank you for embodying all the virtues of a Christian scholar. Your example puts me to shame in the most positive ways. Jacques Boulet, thank you for your support, collegiality, and willingness to discuss biblical grammar in a way few others will tolerate, much less encourage. Michell Yu, thank you for your honest and gentle presence. Robbie Walker, thank you for embodying joy in the Lord, and for the grace you extend to everyone around you. You are an inspiration. Nathan Wall, thank you for encouraging conversation and feedback on early (and very terrible drafts) of this thesis. Kira Moolman, thank you for the gift of your singing voice and love for me and my children. Amanda MacInnis-Hackney, you have been a valued companion and a voice of reason who has understood the unique challenges of raising a family in the midst of academic commitments. Thank you for your good humour and faithful friendship. Aleks Krogevoll and David Alcorn, thank you for your good humour and for allowing me into your elite group of Great Biblical Scholars.

My most heartfelt gratitude goes to my dinner companions: Andreas and Melanie, without whom I would not have survived the first couple of years in Toronto, Joel and Kate, who provided much needed spiritual and emotional support, the Smith family, especially Julia, who provided me with encouragement and companionship in every time it was desperately needed, and "the other Smiths," Ryan and Adrienne & co., who graciously allowed me the use of their apartment during COVID-19 when they were sheltering in place in Manitoba.

Thank you to Lorna, Jeff, and all of the caregivers at Friends Daycare. Not having to worry about Torah while at work was an incalculable gift.

My heartfelt gratitude goes to WeiNeng Hung, who has been a kind and faithful friend. Thank you for helping me to keep my eye on the church while pursuing somewhat esoteric syntactic study. Thank you for broadening my horizons and helping me to look beyond my narrow Western ideas about scholarship and Christianity.

My brothers and sisters at the Church of the Resurrection have left an indelible mark on me and my family. The time I have spent with Tommy Mac, the Dell family, Pastor Heidi, David Ball, and the other musicians at the Church of the Resurrection has been more life giving than I can say. Thank you, Pastor Julie, for your friendship and for your willingness to let me preach.

Thank you, Sharon Ramsay and Jamie Perttula, for extending hospitality to me as I prepared for exams, and whenever I needed you.

Thank you to Sauyen Cheong, who is as unfailing and faithful a friend as any one could ever hope for. Your texts and prayers were candles in the darkness. Thank you to Christine Carrick, whose love is etched on my body and soul. Thank you to the Redenbaugh and Muuo families, who are faithful lifelong friends.

Thank you to my grandmothers, Joyce and Teresa, whose love has been a source of comfort for as long as I can remember.

There are no words adequate to describe the unending spiritual, emotional and financial support of my parents, Andy and Karen. You have fostered in me a love for the scriptures and for the church. You have been reliably present always, even when we have been separated geographically. I love you.

Thank you to my brother and sister-in-law Lyden and Erin, who provided financial support whenever it was needed, and whose sense of humour and companionship carried me through many rocky periods. I think we can all agree that Lyden and I are Harry Potter Code Name champions.

Brynne, your creativity and kindness knows no bounds. I am proud of you. Thank you for your love and care. Torah, you are my little light. Thank you for your hugs. Girls, I am so glad God made me your mum. Also, I am the strongest, because I am 36.

There are no words to describe the faithfulness of my husband Tyler. Thank you for your love, faith, and endless support. You have embodied what it means to love "in sickness and in health" in ways we could never anticipate. Your ridiculous sense of humour and persistent prayer and faithfulness has carried me through many dark periods. I love you.

I dedicate this work to the glory of God and to students and scholars living with mental illness:

> May God grant us the grace to do the things to which we are called, the courage to let go of those things that are not for us to do, and the wisdom to know the difference.
> You are loved.

Contents

List of Abbreviations.....viii

List of Tables.....xi

List of Appendices.....xii

Introduction.....1

Chapter 1: Metre + Parallelism: The Standard Description of Hebrew Poetry.....4

1.1 Defining the Standard Description.....4

1.2 Problems with the Standard Description.....9

1.3 O'Connor's Proposed Solution: The Syntactic Description.....14

1.4 Conclusion.....15

Chapter 2: A Syntactic Description of BH Poetry.....16

2.1 *HVS:* An Overview.....16

2.2 *HVS′* Reception: Misunderstandings and Useful Critique 47

2.3 *HVS* in Light of Recent Research.....55

2.4 A Way Forward: The Revised and Extended *HVS* Model.....102

Chapter 3: Syntactic Descriptions of David's Lament.....104

3.1 Comparing of Line Analyses of 2 Sam 1:19-27.....104

3.2 Results of Line Analysis Comparison 124

3.3 Comparing Interlineal Analyses of 2 Sam 1:19-27 127

3.4 Conclusion.....154

Chapter 4: A Syntactic Description of Lamentations 1.....156

4.1 Lineal Analysis of Lamentations 1.....157

4.2 Interlineal Analysis of Lamentations 1 234

4.3 Comparing Syntactic and Standard Descriptions of Lamentations 1.....264

4.4 Conclusion.....297

Conclusions and Avenues for Further Research 300

Bibliography.....302

ABBREVIATIONS

ANT	Antecedent
AD	Adjunct
ADJ	Adjective
ADV	Adverb
ATT	Attached
BH	Biblical Hebrew
BHRG	Christo H. J. van der Merwe, Jacobus A. Naudé, Jan h. Kroeze. *A Biblical Hebrew Reference Grammar.* 2nd ed. London: Bloomsbury T & T Clark, 2017.
C	Constituent
COMP	Complement
COMPAR	Comparative
CP	Clause phrase
DCH	David J. A. Clines. *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew.* 9 vols. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993-2016.
EHLL	Geoffrey Khan, Editor-in-Chief. *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics Online.* Leiden: Brill, 2013.
EXCL	Exclamative
EMPH	Emphatic particle
FOC	Focus
FN	Function word
GKC	Wilhelm Gesenius, E. Kautzsch (ed), A. E. Cowley (trans). *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar.* 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910.
HALOT	Koehler, Baumgartner, and Stamm. *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament.* 5 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1999-2001.
HVS	Michael P. O'Connor. *Hebrew Verse Structure.* 1980. Reprint with afterword, Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1997.

ICC	International Critical Commentary series
KUSATU	*Kleine Untersuchungen zur Sprache des Alten Testaments und seiner Umwelt*
JM	Paul Joüon and T. Muraoka. *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew.* 2nd ed. Roma: Editrice Pontificio Instituto Biblico, 2008.
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
LBH	Late Biblical Hebrew
LD	Left Dislocation
N	Noun
NPEPP	Roland Greene *et al*. *The New Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics,* 4th ed. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012.
NP	Noun Phrase
P	Preposition
PP	Prepositional Phrase
PART	Particle
PRO	Pronominal
PrP	Predication Phrase
PTCP	Participle
PW	Prosodic Word
REL	Relative
SUBORD	Subordinate
SP	Secondary Predication
TI	Tautological Infinitive
V	Verb
[V]	Null (phonologically unexpressed) Verb
VP	Verb Phrase
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*

WOC Bruce Waltke and M. P. O'Connor. *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax.* Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990.

ZAW *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*

List of Tables

Table 1. The Interaction of Structure and Interpretation in Chomsky's *Aspects*.....61

Table 2. The "T-model": The Interaction of Structure and Interpretation in the Extended Standard Theory..... 63

Table 3. A Lineal Comparison of Judges 5:27.....84

Table 4. Holmstedt's Analysis of the Interlineal Syntax of Psalm 23.....90

Table 5. Mitchell's Imagery "Family Tree"..... 94

Table 6. Holmstedt's Analysis of the Interlineal Syntax of Psalm 1..... 97

Table 7. Comparing Line Analyses of 2 Sam 1:22-23 126

Table 8. Holmstedt's Model of Information Structure..... 162

List of Appendices

A. A Comparison of Line Analyses of 2 Sam 1:19-27..... 310

B. Interlineal Syntactic Analysis of 2 Samuel 1:19-27.....317

C. Lineal and Interlineal Analysis of Lamentations 1..... 321

Introduction

> Since then it is the purpose of sacred poetry to form the human mind to the constant habit of true virtue and piety, and to excite the more ardent affections of the soul, in order to direct them to their proper end; whoever has a clear insight into the instruments, the machinery as it were, by which this end is effected, will certainly contribute not a little to the improvement of the critical art.
>
> – Robert Lowth, *Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews,* Lecture 2[1]

The "machinery" of Hebrew poetry has been a matter of serious consideration in biblical scholarship, but no single individual has been more influential in this endeavour than Robert Lowth. In his *Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews* (hereafter *Lectures*), Lowth articulated what he deemed the "peculiar marks and characters of the Hebrew poetry,"[2] and in so doing, set the course for BH poetry scholarship for over two hundred years.[3]

Lowth's lectures were wide ranging; while he is best known for his articulation of the use of *parallelismus membrorum* in BH verse, there is scarcely an aspect of poetry he does not cover.[4]

---

[1] Robert Lowth, *Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews,* 2 vols, trans. G. Gregory (London: J. Johnson, 1787), 32.

[2] Lowth, *Lectures,* 50.

[3] In 1915, G. B. Gray wrote, "Briefly summed up, Lowth's contribution to the subject was twofold: he for the first time clearly analysed and expounded the parallelistic structure of Hebrew poetry, and he drew attention to the fact that the extent of poetry in the Old Testament was much larger than had generally been recognized, that in particular it included the greater part of the prophetic writings. *The existence and general characteristics of parallelism as claimed by Lowth have never been questioned since, nor the importance for interpretation of recognising these*" (*The Forms of Hebrew Poetry* [1915; reprint, Newark: Ktav, 1972], 6-7, emphasis added).

Sixty-five years later, O'Connor noted that "The program laid out by Lowth and restated by Gray has been the program of biblical scholarship in our times" (M. P. O'Connor, *Hebrew Verse Structure* [1980; reprint, Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1997], 34).

Yet another forty years later, Robert Holmstedt lamented, "Lowth's poetic sensitivity notwithstanding … it is nonetheless disheartening that after nearly three centuries of study, the analysis of BH poetry as essentially couplet verse, arranged around three semantic 'parallelisms' remains configurational. Though most scholars have long recognized that examples of verse in non-couplet form exist and that the three types of parallelism are descriptively inadequate, the dead hand of Lowth's 'parallelism' continues to guide scholars and students alike" (Robert D. Holmstedt, "Hebrew Poetry and the Appositive Style: Parallelism, *Requiescat in pace,*" *VT* 69 [2019]: 618).

[4] In his preliminary dissertation to Isaiah, Lowth briefly summarizes some of the distinctive marks of BH poetry covered in his *Lectures* thus: "But, beside the poetical structure of the sentences, there are other indications of verse in the poetical and prophetical parts of the Hebrew scriptures; such are the peculiarities of language; unusual and foreign words; phrases, and forms of words, uncommon in prose; bold elliptical expression; frequent and abrupt change of persons; and an [*sic*] use of the tenses out of the common order; and lastly, the poetical dialect, consisting chiefly in certain anomalies peculiar to poetry; in letters and syllables added to the ends of words; a kind of license commonly permitted to poetry in every language. But as these cannot be explained by a few examples, nor perfectly understood without some knowledge of Hebrew; I must beg leave to refer the learned reader, who would inquire further into the subject, to what I have said upon it in another place; or rather, to recommend it to his own observation, in reading the sacred poets in their own language" (Robert Lowth, *Isaiah. A New Translation; with a Preliminary Dissertation, and Notes* [London: J. Nichols, 1778], xxxix).

Lowth's lectures are engaging and his knowledge of ancient poetics is impressive, but one cannot help but wonder why his framework for understanding BH poetry has continued to set the course of biblical poetry scholarship into the 21st century. If "there is a time for everything and an appointed season for all things under the sun," now is a time to consider whether the season for viewing BH poetry primarily through a parallelistic lens has come to a close. In his afterword to *Hebrew Verse Structure* (hereafter *HVS*) Michael O'Connor wrote:

> Most phases of biblical studies have assimilated and moved on from the Enlightenment: the far horizon of current discussion is now in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century. Wellhausen and Max Weber, the elder Delitzsch and the elder Driver are scholars still cited respectfully, but their immediate predecessors and those predecessors' predecessors are shadowy figures whose conceptual worlds are little known. … In contrast, in the study of Biblical Hebrew poetry, the dominant constructs are still those of Robert Lowth, the mid-eighteenth-century divine who propounded the bases of the Standard Description. There is in the abstract no objection possible to the perdurance of a classical set of views on a given subject, but there are reasons why such perdurance is rare. The Standard Description is, in any case, objectionable because it makes claims about the poetry that cannot be defended and discourages the understanding that the poetry demands.[5]

In *HVS*, O'Connor articulated an alternate description of BH poetry which he called the "Syntactic Description." The thesis I put forward here is that the core of O'Connor's Syntactic Description provides a compelling framework for reading BH poetry that encourages "the understanding that poetry demands",[6] but it needs to be refined in order to account for developments in the linguistic theory on which it is based and to account for a larger corpus of BH poetry than the texts covered in *HVS*. To that end, I provide revisions to O'Connor's approach to the poetic line based on developments in generative syntactic scholarship, and I revise O'Connor's approach to the relationship between lines to account better for the syntactic dynamics within poems. The result is what I call the Revised and Extended *HVS* Model, a framework for reading BH poetry that accounts for the intricacies of poetic syntax and an appreciation of how language is constructed in this poetic medium.

The argument unfolds as follows. In §1.1 I describe the traditional approach to BH poetry that is based on Lowth's conception of parallelism, which O'Connor calls the "Standard Description." In

---

[5] O'Connor, *HVS,* 635.

[6] O'Connor, *HVS,* 365.

§1.2 I describe deficiencies of the Standard Description, and in §1.3 I describe the ways in which O'Connor's Syntactic Description addressed those deficiencies.

In chapter 2, I provide an in-depth overview of *HVS* (§2.1) and its reception (§2.2), identifying some of its weaknesses. *HVS* works within an early generative understanding of language. In §2.3 I discuss developments in this field since the time of its publication and revise O'Connor's approach to align it better with those developments. Chapter 2 concludes with an articulation of the Revised and Extended *HVS* Model, an approach I argue should replace the Standard Description of BH poetry.

In chapter 3, I use the Revised and Extended *HVS* Model to describe a poem from O'Connor's corpus (2 Sam 1:19-27) and demonstrate the ways in which the Revised and Extended *HVS* Model more adequately describes the syntax of this poem than O'Connor's Syntactic Description.

In chapter 4, I use the Revised and Extended *HVS* Model to describe Lamentations 1, a poem outside of O'Connor's corpus. O'Connor's corpus consisted of early biblical poetry, and my analysis of Lamentations 1 demonstrates that the Revised and Extended *HVS* Model can be applied to late biblical poetry and that it provides a more compelling and syntactically grounded reading of Lamentations 1 than the Standard Descriptions offered by Adele Berlin and F. W. Dobbs-Allsopp.

In the conclusion, I summarize the findings of this study and suggest avenues for future research.

Chapter 1
Metre + Parallelism: The Standard Description of Hebrew Poetry

> The correspondence of one verse, or line, with another, I call parallelism … Parallel lines may be reduced to three sorts; parallels synonymous, parallels antithetic, and parallels synthetic.
>
> – Robert Lowth, *Isaiah. A New Translation,* x.

1.1 Defining the Standard Description

At the beginning of *HVS,* O'Connor articulates what he calls the "Standard Description" of BH poetry, which emanates from the wellspring of Robert Lowth's 18th century works[1]:

> Lowth is commonly credited with discovering the notion of parallelism. This is on any reading a slight historical error. More importantly it misestimates Lowth's crucial insight, that parallelistic phenomena alone cannot suffice to describe Hebrew verse; something else is going on, which Lowth called meter. Both parts of Lowth's Standard Description need refining, but this realization that two phenomena are interacting is central. The naming of parts, which we shall undertake here, is secondary to the recognition that there are two parts to be named.[2]

The Standard Description of BH poetry is based on two fundamental assumptions:

i) BH verse is regulated by a metrical component, regardless of whether that metrical component is recoverable by modern scholars.

ii) Most BH poetic lines are arranged in semantically parallel couplets.

These foundational notions are articulated in Lowth's *Lectures* and *Isaiah. A New Translation; with a Preliminary Dissertation, and Notes* (hereafter *Isaiah*).[3] To understand the origin of the Standard Description, I lay out Lowth's arguments regarding parallelism and metre in §1.1. To understand the early developments of the Standard Description, I describe G. B. Gray's *The Forms of Hebrew Poetry,*[4] which O'Connor characterized as the "canonical form" of the

[1] Robert Lowth, *De Sacra Poesi Hebraeorum Praelectiones Academicae Oxonii Habitae* (London: Clarendon, 1753); *Isaiah. A New Translation; with a Preliminary Dissertation, and Notes* (London: J. Nichols, 1778); *Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews,* 2 vols, trans. G. Gregory (London: J. Johnson, 1787).

[2] O'Connor, *HVS,* 4.

[3] Full citations of these works are given in note 1 above.

[4] G. B. Gray, *The Forms of Hebrew Poetry* (1915; reprint, Newark: Ktav, 1972).

Standard Description, in §1.1.2.[5] With this historical overview of the Standard Description and its developments in place, I outline the problems O'Connor identified with the Standard Description in §1.2, and in §1.3, the Syntactic Description's solutions to those problems.

1.1.1 The Origin of the Standard Description: The Work of Robert Lowth

The Standard Description has two main components: parallelism and metre.[6] I will begin with the latter. Lowth devotes his third lecture to the question of BH poetic metre, beginning his discussion thus:

> On the very first attempt to elucidate the nature of the sacred poetry, a question presents itself uncommonly difficult and obscure, concerning the nature of the Hebrew verse. This question I would indeed gladly have avoided, could I have abandoned it consistently with my design. But since it appears essential to every species of poetry that it be confined to numbers and consist of some kind of verse … in treating of the poetry of the Hebrews, it appears absolutely necessary to demonstrate, that those parts at least of the Hebrew writings which we term poetic, are in a metrical form, and to inquire whether any thing be certainly known concerning the nature and principles of this versification or not.[7]

Lowth operates from a basic assumption that all poetry is metrical, and therefore Hebrew poetry must be metrical. At the same time, Lowth did not believe that the precise nature of BH poetic metre could be discerned.[8]

Lowth notes the existence of acrostic poems, and reasons from them that "in these examples the verses are so exactly marked and defined, that it is impossible to mistake them for prose; and particularly if we attentively consider the verses, and compare them with one another, since they

---

[5] O'Connor, *HVS,* 24.

[6] It is important to keep in mind that these two components are interrelated, not independent phenomena. Lowth himself acknowledged this: "In this peculiar conformation, or parallelism of the sentences, I apprehend a considerable part of the Hebrew metre to consist; though it is not improbable that some regard was also paid to the numbers and feet" (Lowth, *Lectures,* 270).

[7] Lowth, *Lectures,* 38.

[8] "That there were certain laws of ancient Hebrew metre is very probable; and that the living Greek language was modulated by certain rules of accent is beyond dispute: but a man born deaf may as reasonably pretend to acquire an idea of sound, as the critic of these days to attain to the true modulation of Greek by accent, and of Hebrew by metre" (Lowth, *Isaiah,* x).

are in general so regularly accommodated, that word answers to word, and almost syllable to syllable."[9] Lowth describes the "peculiarities" he observes in Hebrew versification this way:[10]

> The first of these [peculiarities] is, that the verses are very unequal in length; the shortest consisting of six or seven syllables; the longest extending to about twice that number; the same poem is, however, generally continued throughout in verses not very unequal to each other. I must also observe, that the close of the verse generally falls where the members of the sentences are divided.[11]

Modern scholars have shared Lowth's observation concerning the interaction of syntax and line endings, some going so far as to suggest that clause and line boundaries always coincide, a dubious assertion at best.[12] Interest in syllable counting has also outlived Lowth and his generation,[13] but not many scholars who use syllable-counting in their analyses share Lowth's sober view of our understanding of BH syllabification:

> It is indeed evident, that the true Hebrew pronunciation is totally lost … since the regulation of the metre of any language must depend upon two particulars, I mean the number and the length of the syllables, the knowledge of which is utterly unattainable in the Hebrew, he who attempts to restore the true and genuine Hebrew versification, erects an edifice without a foundation.[14]

Because Lowth believes the proper pronunciation and syllabification of BH is not recoverable, he argues that Hebrew metre must be described some other way. Lowth recognizes the existence of regular line shapes[15] and characterizes them thus:

> The poetical conformation of the sentences, which has been so often alluded to as characteristic of the Hebrew poetry, consists chiefly in a certain equality, resemblance, or

---

[9] Lowth, *Lectures,* 39.

[10] Lowth is referring primarily to the versification of acrostic poems here, but he states that these peculiarities "may at least be reasonably conjectured of the rest" of Hebrew verse as well (*Lectures,* 43).

[11] Lowth, *Lectures,* 43.

[12] This is an idea that O'Connor critiques in *HVS* §1.4.4; I discuss the coincidence of clause and line boundaries in §2.1.1 and the phenomenon of enjambment (which undermines any notion that clause and line boundaries consistently align) in chapter 4.

[13] I discuss the syllable-counting approach of D. N. Freedman and R. C. Culley in §2.1 below. I discuss the use of syllable counts in *qinah* metre proposals in chapter 4.

[14] Lowth, *Lectures,* 44-45. In *Isaiah,* Lowth writes, "But the true pronunciation of Hebrew is lost … the number of syllables is in a great many words uncertain; the quantity and accent wholly unknown. We are ignorant of all these particulars; and incapable of acquiring any certain knowledge concerning them" (Robert Lowth, *Isaiah,* ix).

[15] The phrase "existence of regular line shapes" is O'Connor's (*HVS,* 64).

> parallelism between the members of each period; so that in two lines (or members of the same period) things for the most part shall answer to things, and words to words, as if fitted to each other by a kind of rule or measure.[16]

This description of the characteristics of BH poetry articulates the basic notion of parallelism. In lecture 19, Lowth argues that parallelism consists of "three species": synonymous, antithetical, and synthetic.[17] *Synonymous* parallelism occurs "when the same sentiment is repeated in different, but equivalent terms."[18] This is the most frequent species of parallelism.[19] The second species, *antithetic* parallelism, occurs "when a thing is illustrated by its contrary being opposed to it."[20] The third species, *synthetic* parallelism, occurs when "the sentences answer to each other, not by the iteration of the same image or sentiment, or the opposition of their contraries, but merely by the form of construction."[21] Lowth notes that "triplets are frequently formed of this kind of parallelism."[22]

It is this final category, synthetic parallelism, that has drawn the most critique and revision in subsequent proposals. One scholar who contributed to the clarification of this category is George Buchanan Gray, and it is to his *The Forms of Hebrew Poetry* (hereafter *Forms*) that we now turn.

1.1.2 The Canonical Form of the Standard Description: G. B. Gray's *The Forms of Hebrew Poetry*

Gray's *Forms* was first published in 1915 and subsequently reprinted with a prolegomenon by D. N. Freedman in 1972. Gray begins, "Failure to perceive what are the formal elements in Hebrew

---

[16] Lowth, *Lectures,* 259.

[17] Lowth, *Lectures,* 259.

[18] Lowth, *Lectures,* 259.

[19] Lowth, *Lectures,* 259. The dominance of synonymous parallelism in the Standard Description of BH poetry is significant to my argument regarding the "appositive style" of BH poetry; I return to this point in §1.2.3.

[20] Lowth, *Lectures,* 265.

[21] Lowth, *Lectures,* 267.

[22] Lowth, *Lectures,* 268. The Standard Description takes the couplet to be normative in BH poetry, but has always allowed for "triplets" and even quadruplets (Lowth cites some examples of quadruplets in lecture 19, writing, "Those which consist of four lines generally form two regular distichs; but there is sometimes a peculiar artifice to be perceived in the distribution of the sentences", citing Ps 103:13-14 and Deut 32:42 as examples [Lowth, *Lectures,* 264]).

poetry has, in the past, frequently led to misinterpretation of Scripture. The existence of formal elements is now generally recognised; but there are still great differences of opinion as to the exact nature of some of these, and as to their relation to one another."[23] More than a century later, Gray's description of the state of biblical poetry scholarship remains true. Gray agreed with Lowth's argument that BH poetry consists of parallelism and metre. Gray's goal in *Forms* was not to suggest a new theory for understanding BH poetry, but rather, to clarify what was already apparent. Gray writes,

> More especially do the questions relating to the two most important forms of Hebrew poetry–parallelism and metre–require to be studied in close connexion with one another, and indeed in closer connexion than has been customary of late … the really important question to be considered … is how far the phenomena covered by the term parallelism can be classified, and how far they conform to laws that can be defined.[24]

Gray does not propose a new theory of metre, but he does refine the categories of parallelism, particularly synthetic parallelism, with his concept of "incomplete parallelism." Whereas "*Complete parallelism* may be said to exist when every single term in one line is parallel to a term in the other, or when at least every term or group of terms in one line is paralleled by a corresponding term or group of terms in the other,"[25] "*Incomplete parallelism* exists when only some of the terms in each of two corresponding lines are parallel to one another, while the remaining terms express something which is stated once only in the two lines."[26] Gray notes that "Incomplete parallelism is far more frequent than complete parallelism"[27] and that "Both complete parallelism and incomplete parallelism admit of many varieties."[28]

Gray's articulation of incomplete and complete parallelism refines the description of the relationship between poetic lines, but the elasticity inherent even in this revised approach leads

---

[23] Gray, *Forms,* 3.

[24] Gray, *Forms,* 4.

[25] Gray, *Forms,* 59.

[26] Gray, *Forms,* 59.

[27] Gray, *Forms,* 59.

[28] Gray, *Forms,* 59. Wilfred G. E. Watson developed the notion of incomplete parallelism in his *Traditional Techniques in Classical Hebrew Verse* (JSOT Supplement Series 170 [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994], §4), outlining a phenomenon he calls "internal parallelism," and articulating more than 15 types of this phenomenon in BH poetry.

to descriptions of poems that are far too vague. To understand better the weaknesses of this approach to poetry, we turn now to O'Connor's critiques of the Standard Description.

1.2 Problems with the Standard Description

O'Connor identified three main problems with the Standard Description of BH poetry: the Standard Description (i) focuses on a unit smaller than the poem; (ii) absolutizes the couplet; and (iii) relies on a misleading definition of parallelism.

1.2.1 The Standard Description Focuses on a Unit Smaller than the Poem

Proponents of the Standard Description tend to view the bicolon as the basic unit of BH poetry, to the neglect of larger units. O'Connor explains,

> This focus is a well-recognized defect and has led over the years to numerous proposals regarding both larger units in the verse, often units identified on bases that cannot be doubted as relevant to a particular text, and large structures in the text, variously called inclusios or concentric and chiastic patterns. One regular objection to such proposals is that these larger units–variously called stanzas or strophes–and structures do not align in a significant way with the line, the basic unit of the verse, however it be defined.[29]

O'Connor notes that a corollary of this approach is "a view of poems as lacking logic or inner coherence, a deficiency commentators have often been all too willing to make up for, using fanciful emendations or fanciful exposition, according to taste."[30]

1.2.2 The Standard Description Absolutizes the Couplet

The second problem O'Connor identifies is related to the first: "the Standard Description absolutizes the couplet or bicolon."[31] While the pairing of lines is "an overwhelming regularity"

---

[29] O'Connor, *HVS,* 638-639.

[30] O'Connor, *HVS,* 639-640.

[31] O'Connor, *HVS,* 640.

in BH verse, "it is only a near absolute" in certain types of verse (i.e., wisdom texts).[32] O'Connor argues that the pairing of lines is less regular in other varieties of BH verse, but "appreciation of these varieties has often been hampered by the tendency of the Standard Description to regard them as irregular."[33] Furthermore, "Despite its professed devotion to the bicolon, the Standard Description allows for triplets (or tricola) alongside bicola, a degree of license that has been used to cover a diversity of situations."[34] O'Connor concludes that the absolutizing of the couplet in the Standard Description "authorizes a drive for an often spurious uniformity created by wholesale emendation and arbitrary line divisions, practices abetted by the fact that the Standard Description itself lacks a definition of both a line and a line pair."[35] Dobbs-Allsopp makes a similar point:

> Biblical parallelism is often conceptualized … from the perspective of the couplet, which is the most common frame for parallelism encountered in biblical poems. But this is mistaken insofar as it misjudges or obscures the central force of the iteration of the singular that is made manifest, as Lowth knew well, in the fact that parallelism occurs not only in pairs but also in threes, fours, and fives. Indeed, the higher reaches of iteration's additive horizon are mostly left unrealized in biblical forms of poetic parallelism.[36]

In other words, "while the syntactic *line* is definitive, the couplet and parallelism are *not.*"[37]

1.2.3 The Standard Description Relies on a Misleading Definition of Parallelism

O'Connor pulls no punches when it comes to the Standard Description's definition of parallelism:

> The definition of parallelism as a narrowly semantic phenomenon is a wonder of insight for eighteenth-century and earlier thought, but its endurance to the present day is a horror. Central to the definition is a notion of synonymy that has played havoc with the Biblical Hebrew lexicon and is beyond the comprehension of any sensitive student of language,

[32] O'Connor, *HVS,* 640.

[33] O'Connor, *HVS,* 640.

[34] O'Connor, *HVS,* 640.

[35] O'Connor, *HVS,* 640. One of the critiques leveled at *HVS* is that the pendulum swings too far in the other direction, that O'Connor focus on the line to the neglect of genuine couplets (see §2.2 below). The Revised and Extended *HVS* Model aims to balance focus between BH verse's lineal and interlineal syntax.

[36] F. W. Dobbs-Allsopp, *On Biblical Poetry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 69.

[37] Holmstedt, "Hebrew Poetry and the Appositive Style," 622.

> coupled with a notion of antonymy that is barely a notion. As the study of verse in many other languages has suggested, the primary force in parallelism is syntax, not lexicon. The answerings among words exist in the matrix of the syntax.[38]

The Standard Description's reliance on the concept of lexical/semantic parallelism has led to an explosion in the number of categories of parallelism, rendering the categories virtually useless.[39] As Francis Landy has noted, "The assumption that half-lines are equivalent has provided both a framework for understanding, usually reduction, and endless opportunities for taxonomy. Lowth's three categories of parallelism–synonymous, antithetical, and synthetic–have greatly multiplied."[40] However, there is reason to question the usefulness of even the most basic categories, as many scholars have done over the ensuing centuries. O'Connor writes,

> The most obvious objection [to the Standard Description's understanding of parallelism] is that there is no adequate nomenclature for parallelism (Gottwald 1962: 831). Lowth's original three-way split of synonymous, antithetical, and synthetic has frequently been restudied and supplemented. The number of types of parallelism that have been added to the system is considerable: emblematic, repetitive, climactic, and so on.[41]

Even though the types of parallelism have multiplied, Robert Boling argues that "the vast majority of specimens in the Psalter can be assigned only to the 'synonymous' class."[42] If there

---

[38] O'Connor, *HVS,* 640-641.

[39] Wilfred Watson has provided comprehensive taxonomies of virtually every poetic phenomenon (see *Traditional Techniques in Classical Hebrew Verse* and *Classical Hebrew Poetry: A Guide to its Techniques,* JSOT Supplement Series 26 [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1984]). Watson's work is detailed and scrupulous but nevertheless falls short of providing a clear understanding of how BH poetry works. Holmstedt writes, "This is the inherent shortcoming of purely taxonomic work, a criticism that Naudé insightfully develops with regard to linguistic analysis–approaches that analyze only surface-level phenomena are incapable of sorting in a principled way the relevant features of the data from the irrelevant and so are unable to draw insightful generalizations based on similarities of structures below the surface level that allow one to isolate the (reduced number of) relevant categories or principles (1990:118-120)" (Holmstedt, "Hebrew Poetry and the Appositive Style," 621). While both Holsmtedt and I adopt generative linguistic theory in our analysis of BH syntax, we do not appeal to deep structure in our approach to interlineal relationships, because "For the poet and the audience, the fact that two lines may be related by their deep structure is irrelevant; for poetic effect, it is only and always surface structure that matters" (Holmstedt, "Hebrew Poetry and the Appositive Style," n. 9, pp. 621-622).

[40] Francis Landy, "Poetics and Parallelism: Some Comments on James Kugel's *The Idea of Biblical Poetry*," *JSOT* 28 (1984): 62.

[41] O'Connor, *HVS,* 50.

[42] Robert Boling, "'Synonymous' Parallelism in the Psalms," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 5.3 (1960), 221.

Robert Holmstedt's argument for the appositive style of BH poetry can account for the preponderance of what has traditionally been called "synonymous parallelism." As I outline in §2.3.4, Holmstedt has argued that "interlineal syntax in BH poetry can be reduced to a choice between apposition and non-apposition and that this binary choice has been misunderstood and so mischaracterized as 'parallelism'" (Robert D. Holmstedt, "Hebrew Poetry and the Appositive Style: Parallelism, *Requiescat in pace,*" *VT* 69 [2019]: 6123). Because apposition is at its heart a

are three main categories of parallelism in BH poetry, the dominance of synonymous parallelism requires explanation, and yet, in *HVS,* O'Connor noted that no one has attempted "to account for the fact that synonymous parallelism is far more common than all other varieties combined."[43]

Furthermore, from a linguistic perspective the very notions of synonymity and antonymy are ill-founded. As early as 1933, Leonard Bloomfield argued that there are no true synonyms in language:

> If the forms are phonemically different, we suppose that their meanings also are different–for instance, that each one of a set of forms like *quick, fast, swift, rapid, speedy,* differs from all the others in some constant and conventional feature of meaning. We suppose, in short, that there are no actual *synonyms.*[44]

In 1977, C. F. Hockett affirmed Bloomfield's assumption that are no exact synonyms, and called the continuing belief in synonyms the *synonym fallacy.*[45] More recent scholarship has also maintained the view that exact synonyms do not exist. Renata Enghels argues from an intra-linguistic viewpoint, but her comments are no less apt for the concept of "synonymy" within BH:

> From an intra-linguistic viewpoint, "[T]raditionally, two words are considered synonymous in a sentence or linguistic context if the substitution of one for the other does not alter the truth value of the sentence" (Divjak, 2010:3). However, it is now commonly believed that absolute or full synonyms hardly exist, but that most of them are characterized by partially coinciding meanings. Cruse (1986; 2000) has called these elements 'cognitive synonyms' (i.e. lexical items that differ in respect of expressive traits, e.g. *die* vs. *pass away*) and 'plesionyms', better known as 'near-synonyms,' or 'quasi-synonyms'. These words are characterized by a high degree of similarity and a low degree of contrastivity, and are thus "highly intersubstitutable" (Cruse, 1986:268), but not in every possible context. This has then been related to the different polysemy of, at first sight, highly synonymous words (e.g. Divjak, 2010; Reguiero Rodríguez, 2010; Jansegers, 2017).[46]

---

reformulation strategy, it is easily mistaken for synonymous parallelism.

[43] O'Connor, *HVS,* 50.

[44] Leonard Bloomfield, *Language* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1933), 145.

[45] "*The synonym fallacy* … is simply the belief that there can be exact synonyms in a language" (C. F. Hockett, "Review: *Current Trends in Linguistics,* Vol. 12 by Thomas Sebeok, Arthur S. Abramson, Dell Hymes, Herbert Rubenstein, and Edward Stankiewicz," *Current Anthropology* 18.1 [March 1977]: 81).

[46] Renata Enghels, "Extending the notion of near-synonymy: Studies in morphological, syntactic, and pragmatic equivalence," *Languages in Contrast* 18:1 (2018): 2-3.

Many biblical scholars describe parallelism in a way that aligns with Cruse's concept of "cognitive synonyms" referenced above: parallelistic lines express "similar ideas." O'Connor critiques this approach:

> In almost all cases in which parallelism is defined, scholars define it in relation to non-verbal realities. Thus Robinson writes that "parallelism is concerned solely with ideas" (1950: 439) and Lundbom refers to the line as a "basic thought unit" (1975: 20). This would be suitable in the description of non-verbal poems; there are none. A poem is made up of words, to describe a construct of words, terminology which refers to words must be used.[47]

Concepts of antonymy (i.e., "antithetical parallelism") are equally ill-defined and equally suspect. D. A. Cruse writes, "The basic idea of oppositeness is apprehended at a very early age, so it must be cognitively simple, but a fully satisfactory characterisation of the notion has yet to be put forward."[48] Cruse identifies "the major varieties" of opposition, namely, complementaries, antonyms, reversives and converses. However, handbooks on BH poetry are largely innocent of discussion of the complexities of antonymy, with the result that "antithetical parallelism" becomes a flat category of little descriptive import.[49] O'Connor's comments on synonymy in the study of BH poetry apply equally well to antonymy: "Reference to synonymy in descriptions of Canaanite poetry is never concerned with investigating the difference [between synonymous paraphrasable entities], however, but with neutralizing it."[50]

The third main type of parallelism, "synthetic parallelism," has long been regarded as a "garbage can category"[51] into which any bicolon can be thrown if it does not read synonymously or antithetically by the interpreter. O'Connor commends Gray's revisions to this category, but these

---

[47] O'Connor, *HVS,* 51.

[48] D. A. Cruse, "Language, Meaning and Sense: Semantics" in *An Encyclopaedia of Language,* edited by N. E. Collinge (Abingdon: Taylor & Francis Group, 1990), 85.

[49] Kugel sharply critiques the common conception of antithetical parallelism in *The Idea of Biblical Poetry:* "Lowth's 'antithetical' parallelism was a distinction without a difference. It was another way for B to pick up and complete A. Just as 'synonymous' is inappropriate, so is 'antithetical.' Indeed, it was in order to preserve the synonymity of 'synonymous' that antithetical parallelism was devised; it drained off a whole class of parallelism in which B's differentness from A was all too obvious" (James L. Kugel, *The Idea of Biblical Poetry: Parallelism and Its History* [Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1981], 13).

[50] O'Connor, *HVS,* 51.

[51] O'Connor, *HVS,* 33.

revisions have also contributed to the problematic multiplication of categories of parallelism mentioned above.[52] Taxonomic approaches cannot explain the conventions of BH poetry.

1.3 O'Connor's Proposed Solution: The Syntactic Description

O'Connor argued that the Syntactic Description addressed the three main problems with the Standard Description of BH poetry.

1.3.1 The Syntactic Description Considers the Construction of Whole Poems

O'Connor critiqued the Standard Description for viewing BH poems as little more than a series of couplets paratactically strung together. In place of this approach, O'Connor argued for "tropes" that operated on word-, line- and supralinear levels. In his reflection on *HVS'* attempt to read entire poems, O'Connor wrote, "The promise of the Standard Description in regard to reading whole poems is enormous, but much of the work remains to be done. The efforts that I made in the last chapter of *Hebrew Verse Structure,* although they still strike me as sound, constitute an awkward set of first steps."[53] In chapter 2, I outline O'Connor's approach to interlineal syntax and argue for an appositional approach that shores up its weaknesses.

1.3.2 The Syntactic Description Defines the Poetic Line as the Basic Unit of BH Poetry

Rather than viewing the couplet as "an absolute unit" in BH poetry, O'Connor argues that the *line* is the basic unit. O'Connor analyzed 1225 lines of verse and found that "a line of Biblical Hebrew poetry is generally a sentence with two or three grammatical elements (constituents) consisting of a total of two or three words (units)."[54] A concrete grammatical definition of the

[52] O'Connor, *HVS,* 33-34; O'Connor is referring to George Gray's *The Forms of Hebrew Poetry* (1915; reprint, Newark: Ktav, 1972).

[53] O'Connor, *HVS,* 644.

[54] O'Connor, *HVS,* 643.

BH verse line not only enables the interpreter to identify syntactic correspondences between lines, but also non-"parallelistic" phenomena like enjambment.

1.3.3 The Syntactic Description Accounts for Parallelism as a Grammatical Phenomenon

O'Connor writes, "The correspondence of syntactic structures across lines, usually but not always in pairs, is the core of the Standard Description, but the grounding of that correspondence in lexical terms is misleading."[55] The Syntactic Description accounts for lexical correspondence by describing them as "word-level tropes, offering a more lexically informed and controlled schema."[56] I provide a description of these tropes in chapter 2.

1.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have outlined the Standard Description as laid out by Lowth and developed by Gray. I have identified the weaknesses that O'Connor found in this Standard Description, and the ways in which O'Connor argued his Syntactic Description countered these deficiencies.

Many of the deficiencies in the Standard Description that O'Connor outlined had been identified by scholars before him, and further deficiencies in the Standard Description have been noted by scholars after him. The "state of the question" of how to read biblical poetry is clear: the approach that Lowth articulated in the 18th century and the developments of this approach through the ensuring centuries remains deficient.

O'Connor's Syntactic Approach as outlined in *HVS* provides a considerable leap forward in BH poetry scholarship and counters many of the Standard Approach's deficiencies. In the next chapter, I provide an in-depth overview of O'Connor's approach and show the ways in which it needs to be refined to position it to replace the Standard Description.

---

[55] O'Connor, *HVS,* 642.

[56] O'Connor, *HVS,* 643.

Chapter 2
A Syntactic Description of Biblical Hebrew Poetry

In chapter 1 I described the Standard Description of BH poetry and advocated a change of approach. I have argued that the most compelling alternative to the Standard Description is a Syntactic Description built on the foundation O'Connor laid in *Hebrew Verse Structure.* O'Connor outlines what such a paradigm shift in the study of BH verse will involve:

> Any description of Hebrew verse will have to take into account the defects we have noted in the Standard Description. It will have to define the line, and it will have to delimit phenomena previously included under the headings of parallelism and meter, and demarcate relations among these phenomena.[1]

In this chapter I discuss the extent to which O'Connor achieved these goals in *HVS,* and argue for revisions and extensions to his approach. In §2.1 I provide a brief overview of the purpose of O'Connor's work and what he hoped to achieve. In §2.1.1 I explain the six syntactic constraints that O'Connor argued constituted BH poetic convention. In §2.1.2 I explain O'Connor's "tropes" and the way he understood them to function on the word-, line-, and supralinear-level.

After providing a description of *HVS* in §2.1, in §2.2 I discuss common misunderstandings and useful critiques of *HVS*. In §2.3 I discuss *HVS* in light of more recent research. I begin by describing O'Connor's generative framework (§2.3.1) followed by a description of the linguistic framework of the Revised and Extended *HVS* model (§2.3.2). In §2.3.3 I explain my revisions to the line-level constraints, and in §2.3.4 I explain my approach to interlineal syntax. In §2.4, I summarize the findings of this chapter and argue that the Revised and Extended *HVS* model represents a compelling alternative to the Standard Description of BH poetry.

2 *Hebrew Verse Structure:* Content and Revision

2.1 *HVS:* An Overview

In *Hebrew Verse Structure,* O'Connor set out to "describe the major forms, that is, the structural features basic to Hebrew verse"[1] because he found the Standard Description of BH verse unsatisfying. O'Connor outlines the inadequacies of both the Standard Description and what he

[1] O'Connor, *HVS,* 54.

[1] O'Connor, *HVS,* 3.

calls “Modified Standard Descriptions” in *HVS* §1.3, but there is one aspect of Lowth's description that O'Connor deems indispensable:

> Lowth's crucial insight [is] that parallelistic phenomena alone cannot suffice to describe Hebrew verse; something else is going on, which Lowth called meter. Both parts of Lowth's Standard Description need refining, but his realization that two phenomena are interacting is central. The naming of the parts, which we shall undertake here, is secondary to the recognition that there are two parts to be named.[2]

O'Connor discusses “meter” and “parallelistic phenomena” in discrete sections of the book. With respect to parallelistic phenomena, O'Connor argues that what is commonly called parallelism is actually an aggregation of literary phenomena that he calls “tropes,” which he summarizes in §1.4 and describes in depth in chs. 4-9. The tropes operate on three levels: the word-level (repetition, coloration), the line-level (matching, gapping, and related phenomena), and the supra-linear level (syntactic dependence and mixing). I will address these features in §2.3 below.

With respect to metre, O'Connor argues that the phenomenon Lowth and his successors called *metre* was in fact a function of syntax:

> The feature of Hebrew verse structure Lowth believed hopelessly lost he called meter. We shall argue that the regularities he and his successors have regarded as phonological are in fact syntactic. Descriptions of the relation between clause and phrase distribution and line shape are more precise and account for a wider range of features of the verse than any phonological treatment proposed.[3]

In order to argue that the “metrical” features of BH verse are in fact syntactic, O'Connor begins by problematizing the idea that metre is *merely* phonological. O'Connor uses Noam Chomsky and Morris Halle's work on phonology to build his argument that “stress is a function of syntactic structure” and not merely an acoustic phenomenon.[4] Chomsky and Halle explain how phonological and syntactic principles work together to enable a hearer to determine the semantics of an utterance. For example, the sentence *he has plans to leave* could mean *he is planning on leaving a certain place*, but it could also mean *he has documents to leave*. Chomsky and Halle explain the process by which a hearer determines the semantics of an utterance:

---

[2] O'Connor, *HVS,* 4.

[3] O'Connor, *HVS,* 4; O'Connor summarizes his findings regarding the syntactic constraints on Hebrew verse lines in §1.4 and describes them in depth in §3.0, 3.1, and 3.2.

[4] O'Connor, *HVS,* 55-60.

> The hearer makes use of certain cues and certain expectations to determine the syntactic structure and semantic content of an utterance. Given a hypothesis as to its syntactic structure … he uses the phonological principles that he controls to determine a phonetic shape. The hypothesis will then be accepted if it is not too radically at variance with the acoustic material, where the range of permitted discrepancy may vary widely with conditions and many individual factors. Given acceptance of such a hypothesis, what the hearer "hears" is what is internally generated by the rules. That is, he will "hear" the phonetic shape determined by the postulated syntactic structure and the internalized rules.[5]

O'Connor extends this phonological principle to metre, explaining that metre "is not simply something heard,"[6] it is both syntactic and phonological:

> No matter how complex the phonological analysis necessary to get hold of the meter, it is believed, only phonological analysis is needed. This belief is untrue: in at least some metrical systems, syntactic analysis is also required. "Any attempts to confine such poetic conventions as meter, alliteration, or rhyme to the sound level are speculative reasoning without any empirical justification" (Jakobson 1967: 312).[7]

According to O'Connor, poetry is both an art *and* a science, and to appreciate poetry, we cannot embrace one without the other. Poetic conventions like metre and parallelistic phenomena are a window into deeper grammatical analysis, and their syntax need to be explored for the poetry to be understood.

O'Connor argues that the hearer or reader of poetry engages in continual and close analysis of language: "To comprehend one of the most specialized uses of language [i.e., poetry], the hearer or reader must be familiar with a language."[8] For the biblical scholar, this raises a dilemma:

> In seeking to formalize our intuitions about the regularity of Hebrew line shape, what do we have to compensate for lack of native speaker knowledge? … All readers agree on the existence of regular line shapes and virtually none agree on a simple, straightforward way

---

[5] Noam Chomsky and Morris Halle, *The Sound Pattern of English* (New York: Harper & Row, 1968), 24.

[6] O'Connor, *HVS,* 60.

[7] O'Connor, *HVS,* 61. Earlier in the source O'Connor cites, Jakobson goes further: "Poetic meter … has so many intrinsically linguistic particularities that it is most convenient to describe it from a *purely linguistic* point of view" (Roman Jakobson, "Linguistics and Poetics," in *Essays on the Language of Literature,* ed. Seymour Chatman and Samuel R. Levin [Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1967], 310, emphasis added).

[8] O'Connor, *HVS,* 64. "A description, to be adequate for a subsystem of the language, must refer only to the resources of the language. Just as the description is limited by our knowledge of the grammar, so the grammar as we know it will check the description" (O'Connor, *HVS,* 67).

> to describe them, let alone the irregular line shapes which are always implicitly recognized.[9]

The scholarly study of BH poetry has been at this impasse for far too long. The traditional idea of (phonological) metre must be set aside;[10] the best way to account for the regularity of Hebrew line shape is through syntactic analysis.[11]

O'Connor's identification of the syntactic constraints on Hebrew lines is the heart of his project and forms the foundation of a Syntactic Description of BH poetry, and it is to those constraints that we turn now.

---

[9] O'Connor, *HVS,* 64-65. R. C. Culley makes a similar point: "At the root of the matter [of finding a satisfactory theory of meter] lies the fact that we lack much of the information necessary to construct a theory of poetic structure which would be convincing enough to meet the approval of a very significant segment of informed opinion. In the first place, we are at a distinct disadvantage in having to rely on a text without being able to hear biblical poetry performed in its original setting. We do not know which texts were performed to music or what the music was like, and so we are unable to establish to what extent the texts may have been adjusted to the music, receiving a structure not clearly apparent in the texts themselves. It is also impossible to determine whether certain vowels were regularly elided in either sung or recited poetry. Similarly, other features relevant to metrical structure, yet not marked in our present text, cannot be identified" (R. C. Culley, "Metrical Analysis of Classical Hebrew Poetry," in *Essays on the Ancient Semitic World,* ed. J. W. Wevers and D. B. Redford [Toronto: University of Toronto, 1970], 13).

[10] "We … agree with those scholars who reject the applicability of a metrical scheme to Hebrew" (O'Connor, *HVS,* 65). Furthermore, "The proposals elaborated by Freedman and independently launched by Culley hold that, given the existence of regularities and *the failure of all metrical descriptions*, we must describe the system as sensitively as possible without making any direct claims about its structure. The best tool for such monitoring is syllable counting, as they have shown. Any alternative will have to account for the regularities they, and all observers, have cited" (O'Connor, *HVS,* 65, emphasis added). Of course, O'Connor's proposal *does* make direct claims about BH verse structure, which he bases on syntax rather than syllable-counting.

Culley's syllable-counting approach is exemplified in "Metrical Analysis of Classical Hebrew Poetry"; for an example of D. N. Freedman's syllable-counting approach, see "Archaic Forms in Early Hebrew Poetry," *ZAW* 72, no. 2 (1960): 101-7.

[11] In the absence of the discovery of BH poetry's metre, some scholars have argued there are no discernible rules at all. For example, Hans Kosmala writes, "The pointed Masoretic text on which we have made ourselves entirely dependent cannot provide us with a clue to the laws underlying ancient Hebrew poetic art" ["Form and Structure in Ancient Hebrew Poetry (A New Approach)," *Vetus Testamentum* 14 no 4 (Oct 1964): 424]. Kosmala criticizes metrical approaches to the study of BH poetry, arguing that "the modern efforts in finding out the principles of Hebrew 'metre' were doomed to failure", and "It was the important words and notions which formed the basic elements of Hebrew poetry, not the syllables and stresses" (Kosmala, "Form and Structure," 424-425). O'Connor takes Kosmala's approach to task, writing, "Kosmala's proposal, in explicitly denying the existence of any rules, swerves away from the possibility of adequacy. The regularities in question are not, after all, trivial. Rather, they involve most of the verse in Hebrew. We assume such regularities bespeak an order that can be described and we assume that a set of wrong or weak rules, rules that need further consideration, is better than none at all. The core of Kosmala's suggestion is the fact noted by most students: there are significant regularities on the syntactic level. What we wish to propose is that just as most poetic systems are shaped in part by a series of phonological requirements, i.e., by a system of metrical constraints, so there are poetic systems shaped in part by a series of syntactic requirements, i.e., by a system of syntactic constraints. Among them is Canaanite verse" (O'Connor, *HVS,* 65).

2.1.1 Hebrew Verse Constriction

O'Connor assumes that there is an identifiable set of conventions for producing BH poetry, and in this, he is not alone:

> All readers agree on the existence of regular line shapes and virtually none agree on a simple, straightforward way to describe them, let alone the irregular line shapes which are always implicitly recognized.[12]

In the absence of this "simple, straightforward way" to describe the regularity of BH verse, scholars have come up with their own strategies for determining line boundaries. Culley outlines a number of such approaches:

> There are those who favour a theory … which assumes a limited number of stressed syllables per line with great freedom as to the number of unstressed syllables permitted … In direct contrast to this is a theory, advocated especially by S. Mowinckel, according to which the line consists of an alternation between stressed and unstressed syllables … Then there are those who claim that a "word-metre" which takes the word as the unit to be counted best answers the characteristics of Hebrew poetry.[13]

For his part, Culley chooses to count syllables, but as he notes, "In order to count the syllables in lines and cola it is necessary first of all to establish clearly these divisions in the text."[14] To that end, Culley argues that "the lines and the cola into which lines are frequently divided are quite commonly marked off by the phenomenon usually called 'parallelism.' Furthermore, the ends of lines generally coincide with a major break in the syntactic structure, such as clause boundary."[15] While this line of reasoning is common amongst BH poetry scholars, it nevertheless begs the question. If we claim that BH poetry consists of parallel lines, we also presuppose the boundaries of the lines that are parallel. Likewise, when we state that lines generally coincide with syntactic breaks, we also presuppose the line break with which the syntactic structure coincides.

---

[12] O'Connor, *HVS,* 65.

[13] Culley, "Metrical Analysis of Classical Hebrew Poetry," 12. The first theory Culley references in this quote is associated with E. Sievers; the "word meter" theory referenced in this quote is associated with Kosmala.

[14] Culley, "Metrical Analysis of Classical Hebrew Poetry," 18.

[15] Culley, "Metrical Analysis of Classical Hebrew Poetry," 18.

These arguments also fail to recognize that clause and line boundaries do *not* coincide consistently in BH verse. If they did, "then the constriction of Hebrew verse could be described simply: every clause is a line."[16] However,

> The syntactic structure of Hebrew verse is not so simple. If there were consistent coincidence, i.e., if a line contained only a clause, and contained it entirely, there would be no subordinate clauses, since an independent clause governing a subordinate clause could not be contained within a line, unless the line contained two clauses. There is an abundance of subordinate clauses, which can be contained in the same line as the clause governing them, or in another line. Further, there are instances in which two or three independent clauses occur within a line.[17]

Given all of the factors listed above, O'Connor presents his working hypothesis:

> What we wish to propose is that just as most poetic systems are shaped in part by a series of phonological requirements, i.e., by a system of metrical constraints, so there are poetic systems shaped in part by a series of syntactic requirements, i.e., by a system of syntactic constraints. Among them is Canaanite verse.[18]

To test this hypothesis, O'Connor analyzed a corpus of pre-exilic poetry that he found consisted of 1225 lines.[19] On the basis of this corpus, O'Connor identified six syntactic constraints that he argued constituted BH poetic convention. O'Connor describes the syntactic constraints on BH verse in §1.4.4-1.4.5, and provides a concise statement of the constraints on BH verse structure in §1.4.6:

1. *On clause predicators.* No line contains more than three.
2. *On constituents.* No line contains fewer than one or more than four.
3. *On units.* No line contains fewer than two or more than five.
4. *On the units of constituents.* No constituent contains more than four units. Constituents of four units occur only in lines with no clause predicator. Constituents of three units occur either alone in lines with no clause predicator; or as one of two constituents in 1-clause lines.

---

[16] O'Connor, *HVS,* 68.

[17] O'Connor, *HVS,* 68.

[18] O'Connor, *HVS,* 65.

[19] Genesis 49, Exodus 15, Numbers 23-24, Deuteronomy 32-33, Judges 5, 2 Samuel 1, Habakkuk 3, Zephaniah 1-3, Psalms 78, 106, 107.

5. *On the constituents of clauses.* No line of three clause predicators contains any dependent nominal phrases. In lines with two clause predicators, only one had dependent nominal phrases.

6. *On the integrity of lines.* If a line contains one or more clause predicators, it contains only nominal phrases dependent on them.

In what follows, I explain each of O'Connor's constraints as he lays them out in *HVS.*

1. *On Clause Predicators.* No line contains more than three.[20]

O'Connor defines "predicator" thus:

> A clause predicator is a finite verb; an infinitive which is not used absolutely or which governs only an agent; a participle which is not used absolutely or which governs only an agent, object, or possessor; or a ø predicator of a verbless clause (the major predicators); or a vocative of focus-marker (the minor predicators).[21]

In the interest of clarity I will explain this definition piece by piece. *A clause predicator is a finite verb.*[22] A finite verb is a form that can occur on its own in an independent sentence or main clause. Non-finite verbs occur only in dependent clauses and are not fully specified for tense, aspect, and mood.[23] All verb forms except infinitives and participles are finite.[24]

---

[20] O'Connor, *HVS,* 87.

[21] O'Connor, *HVS,* 86-87.

[22] David Crystal writes, "The term **predicator (P)** has … been suggested by some theorists to refer to the verbal element in Subject-Verb-Object constructions, viz. Subject-Predicator-Object, on the grounds that this avoids using 'verb' in both a functional and a formal sense" (*A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics,* 6th ed. [Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2008] s.v. "predicate"; emphasis original).

[23] *Tense* refers primarily to the way the grammar of a verb marks the time at which the action denoted by the verb took place. "Traditionally, a distinction is made between past, present, and future tenses, often with further divisions (perfect, pluperfect, etc.)." *Aspect* refers primarily to the way the grammar of a verb marks the duration or type of temporal activity denoted by the verb. *Mood* refers to a set of syntactic and semantic contrasts signaled by alternative paradigms of the verb, e.g. indicative, subjunctive, imperative (Crystal, *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics,* 6th ed., s.v. "Tense," "Aspect, "Mood").

The most comprehensive book on tense, aspect, and mood in BH is John A. Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb: The Expression of Tense, Aspect, and Modality in Biblical Hebrew,* Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitics 7 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2012).

[24] Crystal, *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics,* 6th ed., s.v. "finite."

An infinitive which is used absolutely is not a clause predicator.[25] There are two types of BH infinitives: the infinitive (trad. Infinitive Construct) and the Tautological Infinitive (trad. Infinitive Absolute). Consider the following examples:

(i) קָרָא עָלַי מוֹעֵד לְשַׁבֵּר בַּחוּרָי
He summoned an assembly against me *to shatter* my young men (Lam 1:15)

(ii) בָּכוֹ תִבְכֶּה בַּלָּיְלָה
She weeps bitterly in the night (Lam 1:2)

In (i), שבר[ל] is an infinitive used as a clause predicator. The main clause is קרא עלי מועד, *He summoned an assembly against me,* while לשבר בחורי is a subordinate clause that expresses the purpose of the main clause: *to shatter my young men.* Thus, example (i) has two clause predicators, the finite main verb קרא and the non-finite subordinate infinitive שׁבר which governs its complement, בחורי.

In example (ii), בכו is a Tautological Infinitive. In "The Infinite Absolute and Topicalization of Events in Biblical Hebrew," Galia Hatav argues that when an infinitive absolute appears with a finite verb of the same root and binyan, the infinitive within this construction should be understood as a *Tautological Infinitive* (TI), and the construction itself as a (*TI*)*-construction.*[26] Hatav argues that the TI-construction has two functions in BH: (a) *Focusing* the lexical concept of the verb, or (b) marking the *Topic* of its respective clause.[27] In example (ii) above, בכו is a TI that focuses on the lexical concept of the verb: Jerusalem not only weeps, she weeps *bitterly*. Tautological Infinitives (whether they are used for focusing or topic purposes) are *not* counted as clause predicators.

---

[25] O'Connor's wording is, "An infinitive which is not used absolutely or which governs only an agent" (*HVS,* p. 86). I have reworded this constraint to avoid his negative phrasing ("not used absolutely").

O'Connor states that "A clause predicator is … an infinitive which is not used absolutely or which governs only an agent" (HVS, 86-87). The phrase "governs only an agent" does not make sense here because "only" eliminates infinitives that govern complements. In practice, O'Connor counts infinitives as clause predicators when they behave verbally.

[26] Galia Hatav, "The Infinitive Absolute and Topicalization of Events in Biblical Hebrew," in *Advances in Biblical Hebrew Linguistics: Data, Methods, and Analyses*, ed. Adina Moshavi and Tania Notarius (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2017), 207.

[27] Hatav, "The Infinitive Absolute and Topicalization of Events," 220.

Any participle that behaves primarily as a verb is a predicator. Therefore, any participle that behaves primarily as a noun is *not* a predicator.[28] Consider the following examples from O'Connor's corpus:

(iii) שִׁמְעוּ מְלָכִים הַאֲזִינוּ רֹזְנִים
Listen, kings. / Give ear, *potentates.* (Judges 5:3a, b)[29]

(iv) צָרַח שָׁם גִּבּוֹר׃
The Warrior *cries out* there. (Zeph 1:14d)[30]

In example (iii), O'Connor reads the participle רזנים nominally, and therefore the participial form is not read as a clause predicator.[31] In example (iv), O'Connor reads the participle זרח as a verb, and therefore, a clause predicator.[32] In sum, "Whenever participles and infinitives manifest only nominal behavior, they are treated only as nomina."[33]

A ø predicator of a verbless clause is a major predicator. The symbol ø means *null.* In generative grammar, *null* is used to refer to a phonologically unexpressed constituent (i.e., a word that has syntactic reality but is phonologically underspecified; it has no sound).[34] Null predicators are frequently used in BH copula clauses.[35]

Vocatives and focus-markers are minor predicators. O'Connor explains his understanding of vocatives as minor predicators thus:

---

[28] O'Connor's wording is, "A participle which is not used absolutely or which governs only an agent, object, or possessor is a clause predicator" (*HVS*, 86).

[29] This translation and lineation is O'Connor's (*HVS,* 219).

[30] This translation and lineation is O'Connor's (*HVS,* 246).

[31] Incidentally, O'Connor reads רזנים as a vocative, and thus as a remnant of predication (what he calls "minor predicators"), but he can only read רזנים as a vocative because he reads the *participle* as a noun, not a verb.

[32] There is no doubt that O'Connor reads צרח as a verb because he analyzes the line as a *Single independent verbal clause line of three constituents. VAS* (*HVS,* 246; cf §3.3.32).

[33] O'Connor, *HVS,* 70.

[34] Robert Holmstedt, *The Relative Clause in Biblical Hebrew* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2016), 43.

[35] "Copula" refers to "a linking verb, i.e. a verb which has little independent meaning, and whose main function is to relate other elements of clause structure, especially subject and complement" (Crystal, *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics,* 6 ed., s.v. "copula").

> In the case of the vocative, the predicate … is one of saying, with the speaker as subject and addressee as indirect object. Before the sentence is pronounced, the non-essential parts of the higher clause are removed, [namely] the predicate, the subject, and the indirect object marker. The addressee is left alone, and appears as the vocative of the clause embedded under the predicate of speaking. We will consider vocatives, then, clause predicators; this is somewhat inaccurate since they are actually the remnants of a predication. Since they occur only with another predicator, we call them minor clause predicators. This analysis accounts for the fact that vocatives occur with predicates, but are not related to them as arguments.[36]

There are two important points to grasp from O'Connor's explanation above: i) O'Connor counts vocatives and focus markers as clause predicators, and ii) vocatives and focus markers occur with other predicators but are not related to them as arguments. This distinction between major and minor predicators accounts for the presence of several double and triple clause lines in O'Connor's analysis.[37] Consider the following examples:

(v) וְדָ֣ן לָמָ֔ה יָג֖וּר אֳנִיּ֑וֹת
Dan: why does he dwell on shipboard?[38] (Judg 5:17b)

(vi) יְמִינְךָ֣ יְהוָ֔ה תִּרְעַ֖ץ אוֹיֵֽב׃
Yahweh, your right hand prevails in power.[39] (Ex 15:6b)

Of Judges 5:17b O'Connor writes, "The punctuation of the gloss indicates that *dn* is a focus-marker."[40] O'Connor analyzes this as a *Double clause line of four constituents* (§3.4.20), reading דן as a clause unto itself, a "remnant of predication."[41]

In example (vi), O'Connor reads יהוה as a vocative, and thus a clause unto itself. The second clause is ימינך נאדרי בכח.[42] O'Connor reads this as a *Double clause line of four constituents* (*HVS*

---

[36] O'Connor, *HVS,* 80.

[37] O'Connor clearly states that he views vocatives as distinct clauses on p. 77: " … the second clause predicator is a vocative, which we treat not as part of the clause it modifies, but as a distinct clause."

[38] This translation and lineation is from *HVS,* 225.

[39] This translation and lineation is from *HVS,* 181.

[40] O'Connor, *HVS,* 225.

[41] O'Connor, *HVS,* 86.

[42] O'Connor, *HVS,* 181.

§3.4.20). Of the 20 lines of this type in O'Connor's corpus, 13 of them have vocatives or focus markers as one of the clauses.[43] Consider the following examples:

(vii) שָׁמַנְתָּ עָבִיתָ כָּשִׂיתָ
You got fat, grew thick, were gorged.[44] (Deut 32:15b)

(viii) יְהוּדָה אַתָּה יוֹדוּךָ אַחֶיךָ
Judah, you: your brothers praise you.[45] (Gen 49:8a)

Example (vii) is a *Triple clause line of three constituents* (§3.4.21); it is the only triple clause line out of the 6 in O'Connor's corpus that does not have a vocative constituting one of its clauses.[46]

Example (viii) is the only *Triple clause line of four constituents* (§3.4.22). O'Connor does not explain his analysis, but it appears that he reads יהודה as the first clause consisting only of a focus marker, אתה as a second clause consisting only of a vocative, and יודוך אחיך as a third clause consisting of a verb with attached complement and a subject.

Having fleshed out what O'Connor means by "predicators," we get to the heart of the first constraint, which is *no line contains more than three clause predicators.* This constraint explicitly concerns itself with the number of clauses in a line; O'Connor has concluded that no line consists of more than three clauses. While the first constraint addresses the maximum number of predicators in a line, the second and third constraints address the permissible range of constituents and units:

> *2. On constituents.* No line contains fewer than one or more than four.
>
> *3. On units.* No line contains fewer than two or more than five.[47]

---

[43] The 10 double clause lines with vocatives are 2 Sam 1:26a,b; Ex 15:6a,b, 11a,b, 17b,c; Judg 5:31a; Zeph 2:12. The 3 double clause lines with focus markers are: Judg 5:17b; 2 Sam 1:19a; Ps 107:5. Note that these are not "focus markers" like הנה, but rather, constituents that O'Connor has identified as "focused." The 7 double clause lines without vocatives or focus markers are: Num 23:7c, 23d; Deut 32:40b; Judg 5:28c; Zeph 1:6b; Ps 78:21a, 45a.

[44] This translation and lineation is from *HVS,* 198.

[45] This translation and lineation is from *HVS,* 172.

[46] All the other triple clause lines of three constituents consist of two imperatives and a vocative: Gen 49:2a; Num 23:18a; Deut 32:1a; Judges 5:12a; Zeph 2:1.

[47] O'Connor, *HVS,* 87.

O'Connor writes, "Each verb and nominal phrase, along with the particles dependent on it, is a *constituent.*"[48] To clarify, O'Connor's analysis indicates that he does not regard the verb + nominal phrase *combination* as a constituent, but rather, each verb is a constituent, and each nominal phrase is a constituent.

O'Connor identifies "three grammatical levels", namely, the unit, the constituent, and the clause:

> The first and lowest [level] refers to individual verbs and nouns; each of these, along with the particles dependent on it, is a *unit.* (We could have said lexical word or even real word, but such usage often creates confusion.) The second level refers to verbs and nouns as they function together in the syntax. Since verbs are used only independently, it is nominal phrases that are crucially distinguished here; each verb and nominal phrase, along with the particles dependent on it, is a *constituent.* The third level refers to the basis of syntactic functioning, the clause … Each verb and ø predicator of a verbless clause is a *clause predicator.*[49]

For O'Connor, each verb and accompanying particle(s) is a unit; likewise, each noun and accompanying particle(s) is a unit. "The particle class includes all conjunctions, markers of negation and emphasis, and prepositions. A particle is said to be dependent on the noun or verb that follows it directly."[50] Take for example Psalm 106:23b:

(ix) עָמַד בַּפֶּרֶץ לְפָנָיו
ʿāmad bappereṣ ləpānāyw
UNIT1 UNIT2 UNIT3
CONST1 CONST2 CONST3
He stood in the breach before him,[51]

עמד is a verb, and therefore, O'Connor counts it as both a unit and a constituent. בַּפֶּרֶץ is the noun פֶּרֶץ with the prepositional particle ב + article (the article is indicated by *patakh* and lengthening of the *pe*). In O'Connor's reckoning, the attached ב is dependent on the noun to which it is attached, and therefore, בַּפֶּרֶץ is both a unit and a constituent. Similarly, לְפָנָיו is the preposition לִפְנֵי with an attached 3ms pronoun, and is both a unit and a constituent.[52]

---

[48] O'Connor, *HVS,* 68, emphasis original.

[49] O'Connor, *HVS,* 68, emphasis original.

[50] O'Connor, *HVS,* 68.

[51] This lineation and translation is from O'Connor, *HVS,* 283.

[52] O'Connor presents four classes of particles:

Because not every unit is also a constituent, multiple levels of analysis must take place.[53] Take for example O'Connor's analysis of Psalm 106:43a:

(x)	פְּעָמִים רַבּוֹת יַצִּילֵם	
	pəʿāmîm–rabbôt	*yaṣṣîlēm*
	UNIT1 UNIT2	UNIT3
	CONST1	CONST2
	many-times	He-rescued-them

In this example, O'Connor joins the units of a constituent with a dash in his transliteration and translation. O'Connor explains that the verbal clause predicator יצילם governs one dependent nominal phrase consisting of two units, פעמים and רבות.[54] O'Connor reads this as a single independent verbal clause line of two constituents (i.e. the noun phrase פעמים רבות and the verb יצילם) and three units (the noun פעמים, the adjective רבות, and the verb יצילם). Note that O'Connor does not count the pronoun attached to the verb as its own constituent even though it serves as the complement to the verb; this is a matter to which I will return in §2.2.3.4.2.

The first constraint states that no line contains more than 3 predicators; the second constraint states that each line is made up of 1-4 constituents; the third constraint states that each line has 2-5 units. These constraints lay the foundation for lineation, and most Hebrew poems can be lineated with relative ease by applying them. The final three constraints focus on the interaction between units, constituents, predicators, and lines.

> 4. *On the units of constituents*. No constituent contains more than four units. Constituents of four units occur only in lines with no clause predicator. Constituents of three units occur either alone in lines with no clause predicator; or as one of two constituents in 1-

---

I	II	III	IV
CV	CVC	CVCVC	CV + CVCVC
b	*ʿl*	*tḥt*	*bqrb*

O'Connor writes, "There is no question that members of Class IV are to be analyzed as composed of Class I forms plus a noun, which is sometimes patient of inflection (cf. *lpny*); this analysis stands, irrespective of the fact that not all the nouns used in Class IV members occur in other shapes. Similarly, Class III members could be treated as nouns, although they are only used in prepositional frames … Rejecting, as we must in light of greatly increased knowledge of West Semitic particles in general, the treatment of Class I and Class II prepositions as nouns, we may go further and, according complete priority to syntactic over morphological criteria, analyze all members of Classes III and IV as prepositions plain, because they form a coherent category with, i.e., are substitutable for members of Class I and II" (*HVS,* 298-299). I take from this description that O'Connor would view the preposition לפני as dependent on the pronominal וֹ־.

[53] "There are three linguistic levels of examination: clause, constituent, and unit" (O'Connor, *HVS,* 77).

[54] O'Connor, *HVS,* 69.

clause lines.[55]

As example (x) demonstrated above, a single constituent can contain more than one unit. The fourth constraint states that a constituent cannot contain more than four units.[56] Furthermore, O'Connor found that when a constituent consisted of four units, it did so only in lines with no predicator, as in Psalm 78:12b:

(xi) בְּאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם שְׂדֵה־צֹעַן
bəʾereṣ–miṣrayim–śədê–ṣōʿan
UNIT1 UNIT2 UNIT3 UNIT4
CONST1
in-the-land-of-Egypt,-the-field-of-Tanis

There are 98 one-constituent phrase lines in O'Connor's corpus.[57] Of these, 13 four-unit lines are dependent on verbal clauses,[58] 1 four-unit line is dependent on a null-copula clause,[59] and 2 four-unit lines are what O'Connor calls "independent."[60]

Because "constituents of four units only occur in lines with no clause predicator,"[61] 11 of the 13 one-constituent phrase lines consisting of four units are dependent on verbal clauses. O'Connor categorizes the other 2 four-unit lines as independent:[62]

---

[55] O'Connor, *HVS,* 87.

[56] In §1.4.4, O'Connor explains the various line types using examples from Psalm 106. Four-unit nominal phrases are rare: "There are no examples of 4-unit nominal phrases in Psalm 106; they are rare altogether" (O'Connor, *HVS*, 77).

[57] O'Connor, *HVS,* §3.5.5.

[58] O'Connor, *HVS,* 359.

[59] Deuteronomy 33:29d (O'Connor, *HVS,* 359).

[60] Numbers 24:3a, 4a (O'Connor, *HVS,* 360). By labelling these lines "independent," O'Connor appears to indicate that they are not dependent on any other clause line, and yet are not clauses themselves; I offer an alternate explanation in footnote 62.

[61] O'Connor, *HVS,* 87.

[62] While these lines do not occur with a *phonologically expressed* predicator, the predicator could be null, in which case these lines could be read as clauses with a null subject and null copula: "[It] [is] an oracle of Balaam."

(xii) נְאֻם בִּלְעָם בְּנוֹ בְעֹר
nəʾum–bilʿām–bənô–bəʿōr
UNIT1 UNIT2 UNIT3 UNIT4
CONST1
Oracle-of-Balaam,-son-of-Beor (Num 24:3a)[63]

(xiii) וּנְאֻם שֹׁמֵעַ אִמְרֵי־אֵל
nəʾum–šōmēaʿ–ʾimrê–ʾēl
UNIT1 UNIT2 UNIT3 UNIT4
CONST1
Oracle-of-one-who-hears-the-words-of-knowledge-of-El-Elyon (Num 24:4a)[64]

O'Connor found that three unit constituents can occur alone in lines with no predicator, as in Psalm 106:38b:[65]

(xiv) דַּם־בְּנֵיהֶם וּבְנוֹתֵיהֶם
dam–bənêhem–ûbnôtêhem
UNIT1 UNIT2 UNIT3
CONST1
The-blood-of-their-sons-and-daughters

Three-unit constituents can also occur as one of two constituents in 1-clause lines, as in Psalm 106:48a:[66]

(xv) בָּרוּךְ־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל
bārûk *yhwh–ʾĕlōhê–yiśrāʾēl*
UNIT1 UNIT2 UNIT3 UNIT4
CONST1 CONST2
Blessed-be Yahweh,-the-God-of-Israel

The fourth constraint describes the number of units that may make up a constituent, and the line types in which four-unit constituents occur. The fifth constraint describes lines that contain two or three clause predicators.

> 5. *On the constituents of clauses.* No line of three predicators contains any dependent nominal phrases. In lines with two clause predicators, only one had dependent

[63] O'Connor, *HVS,* 189.

[64] O'Connor, *HVS,* 190.

[65] O'Connor, *HVS,* 74, 286.

[66] O'Connor, *HVS,* 76, 288.

nominal phrases.[67]

Lines with three clause predicators are rare, but O'Connor cites Deuteronomy 32:15b as one unquestionable case:[68]

(xvi) שָׁמַנְתָּ עָבִיתָ כָּשִׂיתָ

šāmantā *ʿābîtā* *kāśîtā*
UNIT1 UNIT2 UNIT3
CONST1 CONST2 CONST3
You-got-fat. You-grew-thick. You-were-gorged.

In this example, the three clause predicators stand alone without dependent nominal phrases, but there is nothing to indicate that a dependent nominal phrase is impermissible; O'Connor simply did not find any such lines in his corpus.[69]

---

[67] O'Connor, *HVS,* 87.

[68] O'Connor, *HVS,* 75, 198.

[69] If O'Connor's constraints are accurate and there is a limit of four constituents, then one of the verbs in a triple clause line could have a PP or NP associated with it. Judges 5:12a, b may serve as an example:

עוּרִי עוּרִי דְּבוֹרָה עוּרִי עוּרִי דַּבְּרִי־שִׁיר

O'Connor lineates and analyzes the line structure thus (*HVS,* 223):

12a *ʿûrî ʿûrî dəbôrâ*
Get up, get up, Deborah.
3.4.21 Triple clause line of three constituents

12b *ʿûrî ʿûrî*
Get up, get up.
3.4.15 Double clause line of two constituents. Coordinate independent verbal clauses.

12c *dabbərî-šîr*
Sing the song.
3.3.3 Single independent verbal clause line of two constituents. VO

However, O'Connor's constraints do not prohibit his b and c lines from being combined, which would yield:

12a *ʿûrî ʿûrî dəbôrâ*
Get up, get up, Deborah;
3.4.21 Triple clause line of three constituents

12b *ʿûrî ʿûrî dabbərî-šîr*
Get up, get up; sing the song!
3.4.22 Triple clause line of 4 constituents

Keeping *dabbərî-šîr* on the second line also makes the wordplay between *dəbôrâ* and *dabbərî* more obvious to the eye, although this may not have been top of mind in a largely pre-literate culture. This example highlights an ambiguity in *HVS,* namely, O'Connor does not create clear guidelines for determining between the two lineation options presented here. I offer a solution to this problem in what I call the Maximalizing Principle, which is outlined

O'Connor found that most lines with two clause predicators did not have dependent nominal phrases. Psalm 106:6b is a good example:[70]

(xvii) הֶעֱוִינוּ הִרְשָׁעְנוּ
heʿĕwînû hiršāʿnû
UNIT1 UNIT2
CONST1 CONST2
We-have-done-wrong. We-have-been-wicked.

However, O'Connor found one line with two clause predicators *and* a dependent nominal phrase, namely, Psalm 106:4a:[71]

(xviii) זָכְרֵנִי יְהוָה בִּרְצוֹן עַמֶּךָ
zokrēnî yhwh birṣôn ʿammekā
UNIT1 UNIT2 UNIT3 UNIT4
CONST1 CONST2 CONST3
Remember-me, Yahweh, in-your-goodwill-toward-your-people

Psalm 106:4a has one major predicator (זכרני), one minor predicator (the vocative יהוה), and one nominal phrase (ברצון עמך). O'Connor explains, "Not all clause predicators have dependent nominal phrases, but if, in a 2-clause line, one has a dependent nominal phrase, the other cannot."[72]

> 6. *On the integrity of lines.* If a line contains one or more clause predicators, it contains only nominal phrases dependent on them.[73]

This constraint addresses the relationship between clause predicators, nominal phrases, and lineation. Not every Hebrew verse line contains only a clause and contains it entirely;[74] rather, "There is an abundance of subordinate clauses, which can be contained in the same line as the

in §3.2.2.

[70] O'Connor, *HVS,* 77.

[71] O'Connor, *HVS,* 77.

[72] O'Connor, *HVS,* 78. The "cannot" in this statement is problematic. In *HVS,* O'Connor describes the syntactic system of Hebrew verse that he observed in his corpus. Because the O'Connor does not claim that the constraints are prescriptive, "does not" is more appropriate than "cannot" here.

[73] O'Connor, *HVS,* 87.

[74] O'Connor, *HVS,* 68.

clause governing them, or in another line."[75] The sixth constraint explains that any nominal phrases contained in a line with a clause predicator are dependent on that clause predicator, which is to say, nominal phrases relate to predicators of the same line. This is what O'Connor calls the principle of syntactic integrity: "If a line contains one or more clause predicators, it cannot contain a nominal constituent not dependent on one of them."[76]

O'Connor's six syntactic constraints are concerned primarily with lineation. Because the chirographic witnesses do not exhibit consistent lineation of BH poetry, the first step in poetic analysis must be the lineation of the poem. The Standard Description lineates poetry according to its semantic parallelism, whereas the Syntactic Description lineates poetry according to syntactic constraints. On a cline of subjectivity, syntax is inherently less subjective than semantics because syntax is grounded in what is present in the grammar. Semantics is more subjective because it includes judgments about the relationships between words, the meanings for which we often have only approximate understanding.

O'Connor claimed that in poetic analysis, "There are two groups of explicanda: those which involve the line in itself, grouped together in the Standard Description as metre; and those which involve groups of contiguous lines, gathered together previously under the rubric of parallelism."[77] With respect to the former, O'Connor argued that the "metrical" component of poetry should be described syntactically rather than metrically,[78] and I have summarized the syntactic constraints on lineation that O'Connor identified. With respect to contiguous lines, O'Connor advocated an approach to parallelistic phenomena that viewed them as tropes, and it is to these tropes that we turn now.

2.1.2 Parallelism and Hebrew Verse Tropes

O'Connor provides an overview of what he calls "the tropes of Hebrew verse" in *HVS* §1.5. O'Connor's goal was "To take apart the construct of parallelism and examine its parts" in order to

[75] O'Connor, *HVS,* 68.

[76] O'Connor, *HVS,* 69.

[77] O'Connor, *HVS,* 54.

[78] O'Connor, *HVS,* 4, 54.

provide a more precise syntactic description of the relationship between lines.[79] O'Connor's tropes are explicitly "designed to account for the ordering force Lowth called parallelism."[80]

2.1.2.1 The Word-Level Trope of Repetition

O'Connor describes repetition in brief in *HVS* §1.5.3 and in detail in chapter 4. O'Connor begins by making a distinction between repetition, paronomasia (i.e., word play), and the use of two words from the same root:

> Repetition involves the same lexeme, performing the same syntactic function whether singular or plural, suffixed or not, if a noun, in construct or not, and if a verb, no matter how inflected within a verbal theme or form; *figura etymologica* covers all other cases, notably the use of two verbal roots in different stems (Held 1965a). The *figurae etymologicae* do not belong with the structural device of repetition.[81]

O'Connor explains that repetition encompasses not only a lexeme's morphology and grammatical function, but also its position within a line:[82]

> Identity of morphological profile and grammatical function mark most examples of repetition in Hebrew poetry, both nominal and verbal. The chief variable factor is the continuity of the position of the constituent which contains the repeated word or phrase.[83]

In §4.1, O'Connor introduces the trope of "simple repetition," in which the "morphological profile and grammatical function" of the repeated element is identical. There are two types of simple repetition: those in which the repeated element is in a consistent position within the clause, and those in which the repeated element is in a discontinuous position. In most cases of simple repetition, the repeated element is in a consistent position within the clause,[84] and of those cases, the first position is most common.[85]

---

[79] O'Connor, *HVS,* 87.

[80] O'Connor, *HVS,* 88.

[81] O'Connor, *HVS,* 109.

[82] The type of repetition O'Connor references here is *interlineal* in nature, which is to say, an element in one line repeated in another line. O'Connor does not address line-internal repetition.

[83] O'Connor, *HVS,* 361.

[84] O'Connor, *HVS,* 110, 361. In §4.5, O'Connor writes, "The simplest and commonest form of repetition is by a factor of seven the best attested. It has three crucial features: continuity of form, continuity of grammatical function, and adjacency."

In §4.1.1, O'Connor provides examples of the most common type of simple repetition in which nominal elements are used in the same constituent position across lines. The "nominal elements" may be entire words or phrases, as in Exodus 15:6a, b, or they "may only be a portion of the constituents in which they appear", as in Deuteronomy 33:14a, b:[86]

Ex 15:6a	*yəmînəkā yhwh neʾdārî bakkōaḥ*
15:6b	*yəmînəkā yhwh tirʿaṣ ʾôyēb*

Ex 15:6a	Yahweh, your right hand prevails in power
15:6b	Yahweh, your right hand smashes the enemy.

Deut 33:14a	*ûmimmeged–təbûʾōt–šāmeš*
33:14b	*ûmimmeged–gereš–yərāḥîm*

Deut 33:14a	*From the favor of* Sun's produce,
33:14b	*From the favor of* Moon's yield,

Simple repetition of verbal elements in the same constituent position across lines works in much the same way as repetition of nominal elements does; O'Connor's discussion of verbal repetition with continuity in constituent position is in *HVS* §4.1.3.

While repetition with continuity in constituent position is most common, repetition with discontinuity in constituent position is also well attested.[87] O'Connor addresses nominal repetition with discontinuity in constituent position in *HVS* §4.1.2, and verbal repetition with discontinuity in constituent position in *HVS* §4.1.4.[88] In the latter category, it is most common for the first repeated element to appear late in the first line and then early in the second, as in Judges 5:23d, e:[89]

---

[85] "The figure of *repetitio,* in which the repetitions are positioned at the start of the units in which they are found, is the dominant type among the cases in which the position is continuous. There are, however, some cases of continuity in the second and third positions" (O'Connor, *HVS,* 362).

[86] O'Connor, *HVS,* 362, 212.

[87] O'Connor, *HVS,* 362-363. O'Connor also notes, "Repetition is the only trope which seems to be non-local in manifestation, i.e., to involve lines not directly contiguous, and we shall treat non-local repetitions over small distances as being of a piece with cases involving contiguous lines" (O'Connor, *HVS,* 110).

[88] O'Connor admits that "The simplest form of repetition with discontinuity in constituent position is line internal," but also declines to categorize or explain this type of repetition, stating that line internal "ornamentation" is "outside our ken" (O'Connor, *HVS,* 363).

[89] O'Connor, *HVS,* 227, 363.

Judg 5:23d	*kî–lōʾ–bāʾû lə<u>ʿezrat–yhwh</u>*
5:23e	*<u>ləʿezrat–yhwh</u> baggibôrîm*

Judg 5:23d	They did not come <u>to Yahweh's help,</u>
5:23e	<u>To Yahweh's help,</u> against the warriors.

O'Connor addresses "cooccurrence and interlocking of simple repetition" in *HVS* §4.1.5. "Cooccurrence" refers to two elements repeated across lines, such as *yəmînəkā* and *yhwh* in Exodus 15:6a, b above. O'Connor also cites chiastic repetition as a type of repetition cooccurrence, as in Judges 5:19a, b:[90]

Judg 5:19a	*bāʾû <u>məlākîm nilḥāmû</u>*
5:19b	*<u>ʾāz–nilḥāmû malkê</u>–kənaʿan*
Judg 5:19a	The <u>kings</u> came. They <u>fought</u>.
5:19b	The <u>kings</u> of Canaan <u>fought</u>.

"Interlocking repetition" refers to cases in which "the central line of three contains two repeated words, one repeated from the previous line and the other repeated in the next line."[91] O'Connor cites Judges 5:6a-c as an example:

Judg 5:6a	*<u>bîmê</u>–šāmgar–ben–ʿănāt*
5:6b	*<u>bîmê</u>–yāʿēl ḥādəlû <u>ʾŏrāḥôt</u>*
5:6c	*wəhōləkê–nətîbôt yêləkû <u>ʾŏrāḥôt</u>–ʿăqalqallôt*

Judg 5:6a	<u>In the days of</u> Shamgar, Anat's child,
5:6b	<u>in the days of</u> Yael, <u>caravan routes</u> prospered,
5:6c	Path followers followed circuitous <u>caravan routes.</u>

O'Connor discusses "buried simple repetition and the *figura etymologica*" in *HVS* §4.2. O'Connor explains buried repetition thus:

> Repetition in sequent lines, to fulfill our conception of contributing materially to the local texture of poetic discourse, must be upfront, i.e., the repeated elements must be the same in form and function. If they fail these criteria, the repetition is buried. There are

---

[90] O'Connor, *HVS,* 226, 365.

[91] O'Connor, *HVS,* 365.

> relatively few cases of buried simple repetition and most of them belong together in a class which can be accounted for on a non-syntactic basis.[92]

In cases of buried repetition, the repeated elements are nomina of the same form but different grammatical function.[93] O'Connor cites Zephaniah 1:7a-c as an example:

Zeph 1:7a	*has mippənê–ʾădōnāy–yhwh*
1:7b	*kî–qārōb yôm–yhwh*
1:7c	*kî–hēkîn yhwh zebaḥ*

Zeph 1:7a	Hush before Lord Yahweh
1:7b	Yahweh's day is near
1:7c	Yahweh establishes a sacrifice.

In this example, the name *yhwh* performs different grammatical functions in different lines. In 7a, *yhwh* is an appellation; in 7b *yhwh* is in a bound relationship with *yôm,* and in 7c *yhwh* is the subject of the clause. Because the proper noun is morphologically identical in each line but differs in grammatical function, O'Connor classifies its use as buried repetition.

O'Connor defines the use of the derivatives of roots of different parts of speech or different verbal stems as *figura etymologica.* O'Connor cites 2 Sam 1:24b, c as a nominal example:[94]

2 Sam 1:24b	*hammalbiškem šānî ʿim-ʿădānîm*
1:24c	*hammʿăle(h) ʿădî–zāhāb ʿal-ləbûšken*

2 Sam 1:24b	Who set you in scarlet with woven jewelry,
1:24c	Who set gold woven jewelry on your dresses.

In 2 Sam 1:24b, *ʿădānîm* (from עֲדִי, "luxury, finery, woven jewelry") is morphologically plural and in what is traditionally called the absolute state. In 1:24c, *ʿădî* is singular and in what is traditionally called the construct state.[95] O'Connor views these uses of the lexeme עֲדִי as *figura*

[92] O'Connor, *HVS,* 365.

[93] O'Connor, *HVS,* 365.

[94] O'Connor, *HVS,* 232, 366.

[95] I will refer to words in the "construct" state as "bound" or "cliticized" words. "'Clitic' (from Greek κλίνειν 'incline, lean') is the term in traditional grammar for a word that cannot bear primary word stress and thus 'leans' on

etymologica rather than buried repetition because they are morphologically distinct forms (in buried repetition, the repeated element is morphologically identical but differs in grammatical function). The example above features nominal *figura etymologica.* O'Connor cites Deut 32:43b, c as a verbal use:[96]

Deut 32:43b	*kî–dam–ʿăbādāyw* <u>*yiqqôm*</u>
32:43c	<u>*wənāqām*</u> *yāšîb ləṣārāyw*

Deut 32:43b	<u>He vindicates</u> his servants' blood.
32:43c	He takes up <u>dominion</u> over his enemies.

In Deut 32:43b, the verbal form of the root *nqm* ("to vindicate") is used, but 43c uses its nominal form, *nāqām* ("dominion"). In this case, the repeated element differs in grammatical function and morphology, but shares a root. O'Connor classifies this type of repetition as *figura etymologica.* In §4.3 O'Connor describes non-local repetition on "common ground," and in §4.4 he describes non-local repetition "without common ground." In the simplest examples of non-local repetition on common ground, "One line contains two terms available for repetition, one of which is repeated in an adjacent line and the other which is repeated one line further away. The middle of these three is the common ground for the repetition contained in the first and third lines."[97] O'Connor cites Judges 5:3c-e as an example:[98]

Judg 5:3c	<u>*ʾānōkî lyhwh*</u>
5:3d	<u>*ʾānōkî*</u> *ʾāšîrâ*
5:3e	*ʾăzammēr* <u>*lyhwh*</u>*–ʾĕlōhê–yiśrāʾēl*

Non-local repetition "without common ground" refers to functionally identical elements occurring in lines that are not immediately contiguous but nevertheless occupy a small segment

an adjacent stress-bearing word ('the clitic host')" (Robert Holmstedt and B. Elan Dresher, "Clitics: Pre-Modern Hebrew" in *EHLL*, ed. Geoffrey Khan, 2013). Arnold Zwicky identified three classes of clitics: special clitics, simple clitics, and bound words (Arnold Zwicky, *On Clitics* [Bloomington: Indiana University Linguistics Club, 1977], 3-6). Zwicky argued that "A bound word is semantically associated with an entire constituent while being phonologically attached to one word of this constituent" (*On Clitics,* 7). Holmstedt and Dresher explain, "Words in the construct are bound forms which would appear to be clitics by definition. The challenge … is that many such clear cases of cliticization are not marked by a *maqqef,* which is the normal Masoretic indicator of a clitic … Yet the clitic status of construct/bound forms is not only suggested by the examples that do appear with a *maqqef,* … but also by the vocalization differences between the free and bound forms" (Holmstedt and Dresher, "Clitics: Pre-Modern Hebrew").

[96]O'Connor, *HVS,* 207, 366.

[97] O'Connor, *HVS,* 366.

[98] O'Connor, *HVS,* 366.

of discourse.[99] Most of these repetitions are separated by one or two lines, although O'Connor notes separation of up to six lines.[100]

To conclude this discussion of repetition, we turn to O'Connor's own summary:

> The simplest and commonest form of repetition is by a factor of seven the best attested. It has three crucial features: continuity of form, continuity of grammatical function, and adjacency. Cases of the *figura etymologica* fail the first criterion, and those of buried simple repetition fail the second. Non-local repetition is the rubric under which we gather together lines which apparently do not fulfill the third criterion. The criterion of adjacency can be extended with the concept of common and restricted ground, to include instances of patterning which are, strictly speaking, non-local. There are two orders of repetition types: (I) simple repetition and non-local repetition and (II) buried simple repetition and the *figura etymologica.* The first type, we wish to suggest, constitutes the trope of repetition.[101]

2.1.2.2 The Word-Level Trope of Coloration

O'Connor describes the word-level tropes of coloration in brief in *HVS* §1.5.4 and in detail in chapter 4. Tropes of coloration are "words which constitute a single phrase in ordinary language" that are split apart and "set in 'parallel' slots" in BH poetry.[102] O'Connor distinguishes between three subgroups of coloration. "In binomination, the phrase is a single name; in coordination, it is a pair of words; and in combination, it is a phrase with construct or adjectival modification."[103] Zephaniah 2:9d, e features binomination:[104]

---

[99] O'Connor, *HVS,* 367.

[100] "The distances separating the members in these cases, split repetitions, are no greater than those taken as common ground above. Splits are usually one and more than two lines. Most other possible cases of the trope are separated by seven or more lines and are not counted" (O'Connor, *HVS*, 367).

[101] O'Connor, *HVS,* 369.

[102] O'Connor, *HVS,* 112. The concept of coloration as O'Connor describes it here does not originate with him; at the beginning of §1.5.4 O'Connor cites several scholars who have commented on the phenomenon.

[103] O'Connor, *HVS,* 112.

[104] O'Connor, *HVS,* 113.

Zeph 2:9d	*kî-môʾāb kiṣdōm tihye(h)*
2:9e	*ûbənê–ʿammôn kaʿămōrâ*

Zeph 2:9d	*Moab will be like Sodom.*
2:9e	*The Ammonites will be like Gomorrah.*

O'Connor understands Moab-Amon and Sodom-Gomorrah as cases of geographical binomination. According to O'Connor, these territories were known as Moab-Amon and Sodom-Gomorrah, but the poet split these compounds apart to set them in "parallel" positions across two lines. Coordination can also involve names, but in these cases, "the names designate not one individual but the two parts of a basic pair."[105] O'Connor cites Psalm 106:16a, b as an example:[106]

Ps 106:16a	*wayqanʾû ləmōše(ḥ) bammaḥăne(h)*
106:16b	*ləʾahărōn qədôš yhwh*
Ps 106:16a	They-vexed Moses in-the-camp
106:16b	[They-vexed] Aaron …

As O'Connor explains,

> The pair Moses and Aaron constitute a particularly clear case in which coloration must be distinguished from 'parallelism.' No matter how strenuously it might be argued that it is meaningful to say that *mwʾb* 'Moab' and *bny-ʿmwn* 'the-Ammonites' are 'really' 'synonymous,' [*sic*] no one will argue that Moses is 'really' Aaron.[107]

The third subgroup of coloration is combination, "and of these most examples involve the rupture of the construct relation."[108] O'Connor cites Psalm 106:5a, b as an example:[109]

Ps 106:5a	*lirʾôt bəṭôbat–bəḥîrêkā*
106:5b	*lišmōaḥ bəśimḥat–gôyêkā*
Ps 106:5a	To-enjoy the-goodness-of …
106:5b	To rejoice in-the-rejoicing-of …

---

[105] O'Connor, *HVS,* 114.

[106] O'Connor, *HVS,* 114.

[107] O'Connor, *HVS,* 114.

[108] O'Connor, *HVS,* 114.

[109] O'Connor, *HVS,* 114.

While *bəḥîrêkā* is not actually a construct form, O'Connor argues that in a non-poetic text, the expected phrase *would be* בחירי גויך, "the chosen of your people."[110] According to O'Connor, the poet broke up this construct phrase using the trope of coloration, placing *bəḥîrêkā* on the *a* line, and *gôyêkā* on the *b* line. O'Connor favours this reading over a Standard Description that would interpret the lines as synonymously parallel; O'Connor argues that *bəḥîrêkā* and *gôyêkā* "are not 'synonymous' in any sense, although they have, in defiance of much evidence, been treated as such."[111] In chapter 2, O'Connor glosses Psalm 106:4b-5c thus:[112]

Ps 106:4b	*poqdēnî bîšûʿātekā*
106:5a	*lirʾôt bəṭôbat–<u>bəḥîrêkā</u>*
106:5b	*lišmōaḥ bəśimḥat–<u>gôyêkā</u>*
106:5c	*ləhithallēl ʿim–<u>naḥălātekā</u>*

Ps 106:4b	Attend to me in your salvation,
106:5a	So that I may enjoy the prosperity of the chosen of your people.
106:5b	So that I may rejoice in the joy of the chosen of your people.
106:5c	So that I may give praise along with your inheritance.

The semantic and syntactic similarity between 106:5a, b and 106:5c raises the question as to why O'Connor perceives the alleged construct chain to be בחירי גויך (the chosen of your people) rather than בחירי גויי עם־נחלתך (the chosen of the people of your inheritance). O'Connor argues that two criteria must be satisfied to establish linkage between words and phrases in order to categorize them as instances of coloration:[113]

> The first requirements of relations are that the phrases involved occur over a number of lines which are adjacent, of the same grammatical order (i.e., either verbal or verbless and marked by the same degree of embedding) and anaphorically continuous …
>
> The second set of requirements used in judging word phrase relations refers to the phrases themselves: they must serve the same grammatical function in the clauses in which they occur, and they must be governed by the clause predicators of those clauses.[114]

---

[110] O'Connor, *HVS,* 114.

[111] O'Connor, *HVS,* 114.

[112] O'Connor, *HVS,* 279.

[113] O'Connor, *HVS,* 387.

Therefore, with respect to 106:5a-c specifically, lines 5a, b are examples of coordination because they are "indirectly governed by *b*," but *naḥălātekā* in line 5c is not coordinated with 5a, b because it is "governed directly by *ʿm*" and therefore does not match *bəḥîrêkā* and *gôyêkā* in grammatical function.[115]

Repetition and coloration are tropes that function on the word level; we turn now to tropes that function on the line level, namely, matching and gapping.

2.1.2.3 The Line-Level Trope of Matching

O'Connor describes the line-level trope of matching in brief in *HVS* §1.5.6 and in detail in chapter 6. O'Connor explains that "Two lines match if they are identical in constituent structure except for gapped items."[116] In other words, matching is the correspondence of syntactic units in two or more lines of verse, including lines in which one of the units has been elided.[117] O'Connor argues that matching "is the phenomenon most widely referred to as parallelism":

> The fact that it [i.e., matching] is not consistently distinguished from dyadic behavior has led to great confusion which obscures the nature of both phenomena. The implicit contention of received treatments is that the two always cooccur. On the laxest conceivable definitions this is false for Hebrew. The contention that the two *tend* to cooccur is true.[118]

O'Connor found most matching line groups were independent clauses[119] spanning two to seven lines, although matching structures exceeding four lines were rare.[120] O'Connor's typology of line types within matching structures is summarized below.

---

[114] O'Connor, *HVS,* 388.

[115] O'Connor, *HVS,* 388.

[116] O'Connor, *HVS,* 128.

[117] O'Connor, *HVS,* 118. In chapter 6, O'Connor defines matching as "the identity of constituent or unit structure" (*HVS,* 391). "Lines match in Hebrew if their syntactic structures are identical: that is, if they are embedded to the same degree and they contain the same constituents" (*HVS,* 119).

[118] O'Connor, *HVS,* 119, emphasis original.

[119] O'Connor, *HVS,* 120.

[120] O'Connor, *HVS,* 391; §6.4 discusses matches that exceed four lines.

Two Line Matches	Three Line Matches	Four Line Matches
§6.1.1 Independent verbal clause lines of two constituents §6.1.2 Independent verbal clause lines of three constituents §6.1.3 Independent verbless clause lines §6.1.4 Double clause lines with vocatives §6.1.5 Double clause lines with verbal coordination §6.1.6 Double clause lines with verbal subordination §6.1.7 Dependent verbal clause lines §6.1.8 Phrase-clause and phrase lines	§6.2.1 Independent verbal clause lines of two constituents §6.2.2 Independent verbal clause lines of three constituents §6.2.3 Independent verbless clause lines §6.2.4 Dependent verbal clause lines §6.2.5 Phrase lines	§6.3.1 Independent verbal clause lines of two constituents §6.3.2 Independent verbal clause lines of three constituents §6.3.3 Independent verbless clause lines

O'Connor argued that chiasm is a type of line matching, explaining that "The structures of the lines do not always exhibit the constituents or units in the same order: matches can show variation in the disposition of their components."[121] In his typology of line types, he separates chiastic and achiastic lines but notes that this decision is "only … a device for sorting the examples and is not centrally tied to our description."[122]

2.1.2.4 The Line-Level Trope of Gapping

O'Connor describes the line-level trope of gapping in brief in *HVS* §1.5.7 and in detail in chapter 7. O'Connor defines gapping as "The removal of the verb of the second clause, provided it is identical to that of the first."[123] O'Connor cites Gen 49:10a, b as an example:[124]

[121] O'Connor, *HVS,* 391.

[122] O'Connor, *HVS,* 392.

[123] O'Connor, *HVS,* 123.

[124] O'Connor, *HVS,* 402.

Gen 49:10a	*lō᾽-yāsûr*	*šēbet*	*mîhûdâ*
	UNIT1	UNIT2	UNIT3
	CONST1	CONST2	CONST3
	Verb	Subject	Prepositional Phrase
49:10b	[*lō᾽-yāsûr*]	*ûməḥōqēq*	*mibbên–raglāyw*
		UNIT1	UNIT2 UNIT3
		CONST1	CONST2
	[Elided Verb]	Subject	Prepositional Phrase

Gen 49:10a The scepter *shall not depart* from Judah;
49:10b The commander's staff [*shall not depart*] from between his feet.

O'Connor's description of gapping in *HVS* §7.1 applies well to Gen 49:10a, b:

> The strategic use of verb gapping involves rightward gapping over two lines which pairs two underlying 3 constituent lines and results in a brace composed of a 3 constituent line followed by a 2 constituent line. In most cases, the underlying sentences match completely; after gapping, there are two common constituents in each of the lines.

In Gen 40:10a, b, the common constituents are the last two constituents in each line, namely, the subject and the prepositional phrase. Because most gapped lines match one another, "the incidence of gapping over the corpus roughly corresponds to that of matching."[125] That being said, "Matching and gapping need not cooccur,"[126] because some lines exhibit gapping without matching. O'Connor concludes that the tropes of matching and gapping operate independently even though they frequently coincide.[127]

2.1.2.5 The Supralinear-Level Trope of Syntactic Dependency

O'Connor describes the supralinear-level trope of syntactic dependency in brief in *HVS* §1.5.8 and in detail in chapter 8. O'Connor begins his discussion of syntactic dependency in chapter 8 thus:

> The most unobtrusive and least remarked way of giving coherence to a passage of Hebrew poetic discourse is simple syntactic dependency. One main clause is tied to lines

---

[125] O'Connor, *HVS,* 406.

[126] O'Connor, *HVS,* 128.

[127] O'Connor, *HVS,* 129.

> around it because they consist of phrases or clauses dependent on it, or on its dependents.[128]

Because it is not the case that every line contains a clause, and contains it entirely,[129] it follows that some lines will be subordinate to others, and therefore, syntactically dependent. O'Connor relates the tropes of dependency and mixing to the previously examined tropes of repetition and matching:

> The two tropes of dependency and mixing involve troping on the supralinear level, i.e., they involve relations of larger scope than line-level tropes do. The opposition of sameness and difference will help us in clarifying the level and the link of the tropes on it. On the word level, repetition is the trope of sameness and is instantiated as complete identity. On the line level, matching is the trope of sameness and is instantiated as complete identity of syntactic structure in the lines. On the supralinear level, dependency is the trope of sameness and is instantiated as identity of syntactic structure beyond the line.[130]

The most common cases of dependency involve an independent clause line and a dependent clause line, usually occurring in that order.[131] However, some dependent clauses precede the clause on which they are dependent. O'Connor cites Psalm 106:2a, b as one such case:[132]

Ps 106:2a	*mî yəmallē gəbûrôt–yhwh*
106:2b	*yašmîaʿ kol-təhillātô*
106:2a	Whoever can-recite the-strengths-of-Yahweh
106:2b	Let-him-make-known all-his-praise.

Dependency also manifests in appositional lines. O'Connor views Psalm 106:20a, b as such a case:[133]

---

[128] O'Connor, *HVS,* 410.

[129] O'Connor, *HVS,* 68.

[130] O'Connor, *HVS,* 130.

[131] O'Connor, *HVS,* 130. "One-third of the lines in our corpus are involved in syntactic dependency, in passages that range in length from two to two dozen lines. The bulk of these passages begin with the central, main clause, the core, and these passages are said to have an upfront core; less often, the core is postposed, i.e., appears at the end of the passage; and least often, the core occurs within the passage, encased" (O'Connor, *HVS,* 409).

[132] O'Connor, *HVS,* 130. O'Connor reads מי as a free-choice relative, "whoever" (see Holmstedt, *The Relative Clause in Biblical Hebrew,* 80-81; 300-302). There are at least two other syntactic analyses available: i) מי functions as an interrogative, and is elided in the second line: *Who can recite the mighty deeds of Yhwh?* / [*Who can*] *make known all his praise?,* or ii) מי functions as an interrogative in the first line, and the second is an independent statement: *Who can recite the mighty deeds of Yhwh? / Let him make known all his praise!*

[133] O'Connor, *HVS,* 131. O'Connor states that "the phrase line [i.e., 20b] is in apposition to the clause [i.e. 20a]" in this case. Assuming for the moment that his lineation is correct, it seems more straightforward to me to read 20b as

Ps 106:20a	*wayyāmîrû ʾet-kəbôdâm bətabnît*
106:20b	*šôr-ʾōkēl-ʿēśeb*
Ps 106:20a	They-exchanged their-glory for-an-ikon,
106:20b	An-ox,-an-eater-of-herbage.

O'Connor also considers explicitly marked quotations as a variety of syntactic dependency, as in the enemy speech in Exodus 15:9a-f:[134]

Ex 15:9a	*ʾāmar ʾôyēb*
15:9b	*ʾerdop ʾaśśîg*
15:9c	*ʾăḥallēq šālāl*
15:9d	*timlāʾēmô napšî*
15:9e	*ʾārîq ḥarbî*
15:9f	*tôrîšēmô yādî*

Ex 15:9a	The-enemy said:
15:9b	I-will-pursue. I-will-overtake.
15:9c	I-will-possess spoil.
15:9d	My-throat shall-be-full-of-them.
15:9e	I-will-clean-off my-sword
15:9f	My-hand shall-dispossess-them

O'Connor explains, "All six lines are interdependent: 9b-f are the words of the quotation embedded under 9a."[135]

2.1.2.6 The Supralinear-Level Trope of Mixing

O'Connor describes the supralinear-level trope of mixing in brief in *HVS* §1.5.8 and in detail in chapter 9. O'Connor defines mixing as "two dependent and two independent lines which occur in sequence, in which both dependent lines depend on both independent clauses."[136] He cites Psalm 106:47a-d as an example:

---

an appositive to *bətabnît* rather than the whole clause in 20a. That being said, O'Connor's lineation does not accord with the Masoretic accents, which places the *ʾatnaḥ* at the end of *ʾet-kəbôdām:* וַיָּמִירוּ אֶת־כְּבוֹדָם בְּתַבְנִית שׁוֹר אֹכֵל עֵשֶׂב׃. In the absence of an argument against the Masoretic accentuation in this case, it seems more straightforward to me to break the first line at the *ʾatnaḥ* and read the second line as enjambment: *They exchanged their glory / with an image of an ox, a consumer of grass.*

[134] O'Connor, *HVS,* 131.

[135] O'Connor, *HVS,* 132.

[136] O'Connor, *HVS,* 132.

Ps 106:47a	*hôšîʿēnû yhwh ʾĕlōhênû*
106:47b	*wəqabbəṣēnû min-haggôyim*
106:47c	*ləhōdôt ləšēm qodšekā*
106:47d	*ləhištabbēaḥ bithillātekā*

Ps 106:47a	Save-us, Yahweh-our-god,
106:47b	Gather-us from-the-nations
106:47c	To-praise your-holy-name
106:47d	To-laud-[you] for-your-triumphs.

O'Connor explains, "The infinitive clauses in 47cd modify both 47a and 47b; in other examples of mixing, the dependent lines are phrases which modify the independent clauses."[137]

For O'Connor, BH poetry functioned on at least two planes: the line level and the interlineal level. To describe the regularity of BH verse length, O'Connor identified six syntactic constraints that he argued made up BH verse convention. To describe interlineal dynamics, O'Connor identified six tropes that he believed accounted for "the ordering force Lowth called parallelism."[138] O'Connor's work represents an appreciable leap forward in BH poetic scholarship, but his work has not been well understood. Furthermore, certain aspects of O'Connor's work have become dated due to advancements in generative syntax scholarship over the past forty years. In §2.2, I briefly discuss the reception of *HVS* in order to highlight both misunderstandings of O'Connor's work and genuine weaknesses in it. That will prepare the way for §2.3, wherein I suggest revisions and extensions to O'Connor's method.

2.2 *HVS'* Reception: Misunderstandings and Useful Critique

James Kugel's critiques of *HVS* in *The Idea of Biblical Poetry: Parallelism and Its History* are representative of many of the critiques leveled at O'Connor's work.[139] Therefore, I will cover Kugel's critiques in detail here and cite scholars who make similar points in the footnotes.

In his remarks about *HVS,* Kugel begins,

---

[137] O'Connor, *HVS,* 132.

[138] O'Connor, *HVS,* 69.

[139] James L. Kugel, *The Idea of Biblical Poetry: Parallelism and Its History* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1981).

> [O'Connor] argues that parallelism *per se* is not linguistically definable; nor, indeed, is it a single feature, but rather a 'congeries of phenomena.' With a few deft strokes he dismisses the synonymity, antonymity, and Lowth's whole categorizing method. The force of his argument in this 'negative' part of his exposition is, I think, overwhelming, and deals a severe blow to what O'Connor somewhat airily styles the 'Standard Description' of Hebrew poetry (i.e., meter plus parallelism).[140]

Kugel continues,

> If meter is a chimera and parallelism a congeries, what then remains of 'biblical poetry'? It is here that one wishes O'Connor had strayed to our question, to the very idea of biblical poetry. Instead, he seeks to redefine the components of the 'Standard Description' in such a way as to salvage the concept of poetry, albeit with radical alterations.[141]

It is doubtless the case that scholars have a tendency to believe that "our question" is the most probing and elucidating that could be asked, but even given this hubristic tendency, Kugel's comments rest on faulty premises. O'Connor did not suggest that he had destroyed the traditional approach to BH and was now setting his hand to salvaging the very "idea of biblical poetry." Instead, he sought to explain the poetic phenomena that most everyone agrees exists (regularity in line length and "parallelistic phenomena") using the tools of syntactic analysis.

To add insult to injury, Kugel goes on to mischaracterize O'Connor's work, stating that O'Connor argued that Hebrew verse lines contain 1-4 "components," when the term O'Connor used is "constraints."[142] In addition to not troubling to get the terminology right, Kugel's critiques betray substantive misunderstandings. For example, Kugel writes, "[O'Connor's] claim is that syntactic constriction functions as a kind of meter."[143] This is inaccurate for two reasons. First, O'Connor

---

[140] Kugel, *Idea,* 315-316.

[141] Kugel, *Idea,* 316.

[142] Kugel, *Idea,* 316. This mistake could be forgiven as a typo were it not for the fact that Kugel uses the term "component" twice on page 316.

[143] Kugel, *Idea,* 316-317. Kugel may have come to this conclusion from the following quote in *HVS*:

> The system we describe will be of the same sort as a meter, which Lotz defines as 'the numerical regulation of certain properties of the linguistic form' of verse (1972a: 2). It may be that Lotz intended to allow for the description of syntactically regulated verse systems, since he was aware of the phenomenon, as we shall see below (1.7.2). Given the standard usage of meter, it seems that it would be confusing to extend the term from predominantly phonologically based systems to syntactically based systems. Thus, although we have no usable analogous systems as yet at hand, we do have two powerful restrictions before we begin on a description of a syntactically regulated verse system. It must refer to the features of the language as we know them, and it must describe the numerical regulation of certain of the features. We have decided not to call the system a meter; we shall refer to its components as constraints and to the whole as a constriction (O'Connor, *HVS,* 67).

states that he agrees "with those scholars who reject the applicability of a metrical scheme to Hebrew."[144] O'Connor does *not* argue that syntactic constriction functions as a kind of metre:

> What we wish to propose is that just as most poetic systems are shaped in part by a series of phonological requirements, i.e., by a system of metrical constraints, so there are poetic systems shaped in part by a series of syntactic requirements, i.e., by a system of syntactic constraints. Among them is Canaanite verse.[145]

O'Connor argues that the phonological regularities recognized by scholars such as Freedman and Culley[146] as well as the line length regularities recognized by scholars like Kosmala and Azariah de Rossi[147] are best described syntactically.[148]

Second, asserting that O'Connor views syntactic constriction "as a kind of meter" implies that the syntactic constraints are *prescriptive.*[149] Like Freedman and Culley, O'Connor articulates a *description* of BH poetry, not a *prescription*; O'Connor seeks "to formalize our intuitions about the regularity of Hebrew line shape."[150] O'Connor interprets the syntactic regularities within a text without asserting that any biblical poet used the constraints in a manner similar to the way poets compose poetry according to a specified metre.

Kugel also misunderstands O'Connor's generative grammatical framework, writing,

---

O'Connor's point is that Hebrew verse convention is regulated by syntax in a way that is analogous to (but not the same as) metre. The idea is *not* that the poet had six syntactic constraints in front of him whilst composing a poem, and that he ruled out certain constructions because they did not meet the syntactic criteria. Instead, O'Connor argues that the six constraints he identified *account for* the regularities in his poetic corpus, and provide a more adequate description for those regularities than the Standard Description does. This is a point grasped and summarized well by John Emerton: "O'Connor proposes a new analysis which makes use of modern linguistic research; the regularities formerly regarded as broadly metric should rather be understood as syntactic" (John Emerton, "*Hebrew Verse Structure*", *Vetus Testamentum* 33 (1983): 126-127).

[144] O'Connor, *HVS,* 65.

[145] O'Connor, *HVS,* 65.

[146] O'Connor, *HVS,* 38-39.

[147] O'Connor, *HVS,* 48-50.

[148] O'Connor, *HVS,* 64-67.

[149] It seems O'Connor did not make this point clearly enough, because Kugel is not the only person who appears to interpret the constraints as prescriptive rather than descriptive. In his review of *HVS,* D. R. Ap-Thomas writes, "With immense industry the author has analysed all the syntactical constructions found in lines of Hebrew poetry, but the nagging doubt remains, whether reversing this process would produce a line of Hebrew poetry" (D. R. Ap-Thomas, "*Hebrew Verse Structure,*" *Journal of Theological Studies* 33 (1982): 224-225).

[150] O'Connor, *HVS,* 64.

> But in general the difficulty with O'Connor's grid will not be exclusion but inclusion. For if conformity to its constraints will equal poetry, what will not be poetry? (This *is* the great problem.) … His definition of biblical poetry, in seeking to be purely descriptive, does not try to distinguish poetry from prose … The inability of this description to describe any difference between poetry and prose is far from an irrelevancy or a minor defect: it calls into question the entire undertaking. It seems to me that this error is fundamental to a kind of 'Uniformitarian' presupposition such as that described by O'Connor in connection with his linguistic axioms. All languages are basically similar; surface differences in grammar conceal 'deep' similarities. As a corollary, all languages have a 'sub-system' called poetry.[151]

Kugel's assertion that O'Connor's methodology is premised on an idea that "All languages are basically similar" betrays Kugel's ignorance of generative grammar.[152] Generative grammarians do not claim that all languages are basically similar, but rather:

> General linguistics attempts to develop a theory of natural language as such, a system of hypotheses concerning the essential properties of any human language. These properties determine the class of possible natural languages and the class of potential grammars for some human language. The essential properties of natural language are often referred to as 'linguistic universals' … The significant linguistic universals are those that must be assumed to be available to the child learning a language as an a priori, innate endowment. That there must be a rich system of a priori properties–of essential linguistic universals–is fairly obvious from the following empirical observations. Every normal child acquires an extremely intricate and abstract grammar, the properties of which are much underdetermined by the available data. This takes place with great speed, under conditions that are far from ideal, and there is little significant variation among children who may differ greatly in intelligence and experience. The search for essential linguistic universals is, in effect, the study of the a priori *faculté de langage* that makes language acquisition possible under the given conditions of time and access to data.[153]

This description of linguistic universals puts Kugel's mischaracterization of generative linguistics to rest, and I will say no more about it here. Kugel's comment that "As a corollary [of O'Connor's 'Uniformitarian' presupposition], all languages have a 'sub-system' called poetry" also betrays a misunderstanding of O'Connor's *use* of generative grammar.[154] O'Connor refers to poetry as a

---

[151] Kugel, *Idea,* 319-320.

[152] Kugel also fails to grasp the positive implications of identifying similarities between languages and their poetic conventions. Adele Berlin does not suffer from the same short-sightedness: "To my mind, one of the most important by-products of this book is to show that phenomena once thought to be peculiar to Hebrew poetry are really common in many poetries, and phenomena once thought to be peculiar to poetry are really aspects of language as a whole. These facts are known to linguists, but they need to be demonstrated to biblicists" (Berlin, "*Hebrew Verse Structure,*" *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 102.2 [1982]: 393).

[153] Chomsky and Halle, *The Sound Pattern of English,* 4.

[154] Kugel, *Idea,* 320.

"subsystem of the language" in the context of a larger discussion of metrical and non-metrical poetry:

> To comprehend one of *the most specialized uses of a language* [i.e. poetry], the hearer or reader must be familiar with a language. In listening to or reading verse, she or he is engaging in continual and close analysis, as at all times in listening or reading; and such engagement must often be especially trenchant for verse.[155]
>
> The first objection to the proposal that there are non-metrical verse systems is that such systems would be indistinguishable from prose. The difference between prose and verse, though it is probably universal, is impossible to describe in any simple way … Prose-verse differentiation in a work that uses both is rarely simple and often impossible; a superficial comparison of any two editions of Shakespeare will reveal that the editors often differ in distinguishing brief prose segments from poetic continuity. Aware of this situation, recent commentators have tended to say rightly that the rigid separation of prose and verse is not among the highest priorities in the study of Hebrew (Freedman 1977, Cooper 1976: 43).[156]
>
> The second objection is a more serious one: since such a syntactically constrained type of verse is apparently unknown, there is no source of checks on the description. We shall show below that the premise of the objection, with its implicit invocation of the uniformitarian axiom, is wrong. *Further, we can reply that a description, to be adequate for a subsystem of the language, must refer only to the resources of the language*. Just as the description is limited by our knowledge of the grammar, so the grammar as we know it will check the description.[157]

As these quotations make clear, O'Connor is not suggesting that there is a "universal poetic convention" in the same way that generative grammarians argue for the existence of Universal Grammar.[158] Instead, O'Connor argues that language is governed by syntax, and that poetry, as a specialized use of language, must also be governed by syntax. O'Connor does not spend a great deal of time discussing what separates verse from prose because he agrees with the traditional conclusion that BH poetry is the interaction of two main components: "metre," which O'Connor re-defines as the syntactic constraints on the line, and "parallelism," which O'Connor re-envisions as a panoply of tropes.[159]

---

[155] O'Connor, *HVS,* 64 (emphasis added).

[156] O'Connor, *HVS,* 66.

[157] O'Connor, *HVS,* 66-67 (emphasis added).

[158] O'Connor engages extensively with Kiparsky, who *did* "discuss the possibilities of a theory of poetry that would refer to all poetries of the world" (*HVS,* 15), but O'Connor himself was not attempting to articulate such a theory.

Nevertheless, Kugel picks up on a genuine weakness in O'Connor's approach when he writes,

> While many of his lines do correspond to the traditional 'hemistich' (i.e., A or B), a great many will be found to be shorter, indeed shorter by half. For should a line be in danger of exceeding O'Connor's limits, he always has the option of dividing it into two, provided that neither of the new entities violates his minimums. Herein lies an unfailing flexibility in his system, yet one which forces the question of where, besides the 'matrices,' a line actually lives:
>
> עורי עורי דבורה / עורי עורי דברי שִׁיר //
>
> Arise, arise, Deborah / arise, arise, sing a song // Judges 5:12
>
> O'Connor divides B above into two (lest it violate his stipulation that no line of three major clause predicators contain anything else, p. 315). Yet this subdivision splits the juxtaposition *ʿûrî dabbĕrî* in B, which seems the whole point, the punning echo of *ʿûrî dĕbôrâ* in A; his lineation stops just where it should continue. This matter aside, one must raise the larger issue: if the second *ʿûrî ʿûrî* is sufficient to constitute a "line," why was not the first? And the answer, obviously, is that if the first *ʿûrî ʿûrî* were considered a line, we would be left with the extra *dĕbôrâ,* which has too few "units" to be a line on its own. The same phrase is thus treated two different ways depending on whether the word or words that follow it can stand alone as a new "line." In other words, lineation here (and elsewhere) is determined by the very rules that were supposed to have been deduced from it![160]

O'Connor does assert that "no line contain[s] three major clause predicators unless it contains nothing else."[161] I cannot discern any reason to suppose that lines of three clause predicators *cannot* contain dependent nominal phrases.[162] It seems to me that as long as the line does not

---

[159] Berlin makes this point in her review: "Despite his criticism of earlier descriptions, O'Connor retains their bi-partite structure, meter and parallelism, only he transmutes these into syntactic constraints (or a constriction) and tropes. *The syntactic regularities (i.e. constraints on line shapes) and the tropes act together in structuring Hebrew verse* (p.5)" (Adele Berlin, "*Hebrew Verse Structure,*" 393; emphasis added). David Hagstrom makes a similar comment: "As O'Connor sees it, Lowth's basic realization, that Hebrew verse is structured by the interaction of two phenomena [i.e., parallelism and meter], is essentially correct … The structure of Hebrew poetry is thus determined by these two interacting factors–the constriction and the tropes" (David G. Hagstrom, "*Hebrew Verse Structure*," *Interpretation* 36 [1982]: 85).

[160] Kugel, *Idea,* 317-318; cf. footnote 69 in this chapter.

[161] O'Connor, *HVS,* 315. In its entirety, the fifth constraint states: "5. *On the constituents of clauses.* No line of three clause predicators contains any dependent nominal phrases. In lines with two clause predicators, only one had dependent nominal phrases" (O'Connor, *HVS,* 87).

[162] O'Connor certainly did not regard the syntactic constraints that he identified as iron-clad, nor as the final word on the matter: "We rely on demonstration: the proposed description is adequate for a diverse corpus of 1225 lines, representative of pre-exilic Hebrew poetry. We have been explicit and exhaustive in the demonstration not because we regard our description as definitive, but because on the contrary we regard it as *strictly preliminary.* We wish to make it possible to *test* the proposal at every point *because only then will its weaknesses emerge*" (O'Connor, *HVS,* 5 [emphasis added]).

exceed the unit and constituent constraints, a line of three clause predicators *could* contain dependent nominal phrases; this is a matter to which I will return below.

A second genuine weakness Kugel identified in *HVS* is O'Connor's tendency to be more attentive to the syntax of the line than to interlineal relationships:

> A study of syntax must concern itself with the sequence A + B as a whole, and particularly with the articulation of the medial and final pauses, an articulation which is, of course, not merely a matter of syntax. To deal with only half the true line is to overlook a good deal about syntax and to join as equals highly dissimilar elements.[163]

I agree with Kugel (and indeed with O'Connor himself)[164] that *HVS* left more work to be done with regard to reading whole poems and interlineal relationships.[165] This is a topic to which I will return in §2.3.4.

Terence Collins seems to have grasped the preliminary nature of O'Connor's work when he writes, "[O'Connor's] description of the stich in terms of the three overall constraints provides a tool of permanent value for analysis and comparison. From my own observation, it is valid for the 4,000 plus stichs of the Psalms. I would expect it to remain valid when applied to Job and the Prophets, but that remains to be seen. At the same time I suspect that some of his minor constraints or 'restrictions' will eventually have to be reformulated" (Terence Collins, "*Hebrew Verse Structure,*" *Journal of Literary Semantics* 12/2 (1983): 96).

[163] Kugel, *Idea,* 320. I object to Kugel's contention that the couplet constitutes the "true line"; like O'Connor, I think that contention "absolutizes the couplet" (1997 afterword of *HVS,* p. 640) in a way that is entirely unhelpful. However, Terence Collins' critique has merit: "[O'Connor] is right to insist that the proper starting point is a careful description of the basic stich units [i.e., the line], and one is thankful for the way in which he pursues this. However, it soon becomes impossible to continue treating the stichs in isolation … Stichs are interesting, distichs are more interesting. Moreover, O'Connor's lack of appreciation of the distich seems to accompany a lack of interest in the rhythm of the poetry built up by his truncated lines" (Terence Collins, "*Hebrew Verse Structure,*" 96).

[164] In his 1997 afterword to the second printing of *HVS,* O'Connor writes, "The promise of the Syntactic Description in regard to reading whole poems is enormous, but much of the work remains to be done. The efforts that I made in the last chapter of *Hebrew Verse Structure,* though they still strike me as sound, constitute an awkward set of first steps" (*HVS,* 644).

[165] Edwin Good critiques along similar lines, writing "[O'Connor] is working strictly on formal, structural matters, not on style or content. In that connection, I object strenuously to the central term 'trope' and the lesser 'figure.' Both terms conventionally define stylistic phenomena, and to co-opt them imperialistically for structure is confusing and misleading … I must add that I am totally unconvinced of the trope of 'construct combination' (379-84), which depends on an assertion of syntactic relationship the marks of which, O'Connor himself admits, are missing" (Edwin M. Good, "*Hebrew Verse Structure," The Journal of the American Academy of Religion* L/1 (1982): 111-112.

David Hagstrom writes, "In part III, O'Connor offers a secondary argument, namely, that the interaction of the fine structural features described in parts I and II results also in structures on the gross structural level. However, he proposes no simple, direct mapping between the two levels" (Hagstrom, "*Hebrew Verse Structure,"* 85).

2.2.1 Presentation of data and analysis

Having covered Kugel's critiques of *HVS,* I will offer one of my own. O'Connor's presentation of his analysis creates unnecessary obstacles to grasping his approach. O'Connor's Syntactic Description of BH poetry requires multiple layers of counting: the predicators, constituents, and units must all be accounted for in order to discern line boundaries. O'Connor presents his analysis of 1225 BH verse lines in chapter two, but he does not show his analysis of each layer. By way of example, I have reproduced O'Connor's analysis of Genesis 49:2a, b below:

2a *hqbṣw wšmʿw bny-yʿqb*
Gather and listen, children of Jacob
[3.4.21 4.1.4]

2b *wšmʿw ʾl-yśrʾl-ʾbykm*
Listen to Israel, your father
[3.3.4 4.1.4]

O'Connor labels each line (in this case, 2a, 2b) and transliterates the consonantal text (*hqbṣw wšmʿw bny-yʿqb / wšmʿw ʾl-yśrʾl-ʾbykm*).[166] The unit and constituent levels are discernible because units that function together to create a constituent are hyphenated. The predicators in these lines are overt and are therefore easy to count, but in cases in which a predicator is null or elided, the reader has to account for those items herself.

O'Connor's translation is one line beneath the transliteration, and his syntactic analysis is indicated by the section numbers one line beneath the transliteration. In this case, *3.4.21* indicates that Gen 49:2a is a *Triple clause line of three constituents*, and *3.3.4* indicates that 49:2b is a *Single independent verbal clause line of two constituents* with VP (Verb-Prepositional Phrase) word order. Finally, *4.1.4* indicates that these lines exhibit discontinuous verbal repetition.

Given the size of O'Connor's corpus, it is hard to imagine how O'Connor could have presented so many lines of analysis with any more precision. However, the presentation of his analysis requires the reader to discern how each line fits within O'Connor's constraints. Returning to Gen 49:2a, b, we can make O'Connor's analysis explicit (in which P stands for predicator, VOC for vocative, PP for prepositional phrase, and CONST for Constituent):

---

[166] For ease of reading, I transliterate the vocalized text following SBL academic style guidelines in chapters 3 and 4.

2a *hqbṣw wšmʿw bny–yʿqb*
UNIT1 UNIT 2 UNIT3 UNIT 4
CONST1 CONST2 CONST3
P1 P2 P3 (VOC)
Gather and listen, children of Jacob
[3.4.21 4.1.4]

2b *wšmʿw ʾl-yśrʾl-ʾbykm*
UNIT1 UNIT 2 UNIT3
CONST1 CONST2
P1 PP
Listen to Israel, your father.
[3.3.4 4.1.4]

With the benefit of this expanded analysis, it is easy to see that there are three predicators in 2a but only one in 2b, and that the last constituent in each line is made up of two units. But how are we to understand the relationship between the lines? In section 4.1.4, *Verbs with discontinuity in constituent position,* O'Connor explains:

> The dominant pattern of repetition which is discontinuous in constituent position … is less clearly basic here. Sometimes the repeated constituent appears late in the first line and early in the second.
>
> Gen 49:2a hqbṣw *wšmʿw* bny–yʿqb
> Gen 49:2b *wšmʿw* ʾl-yśrʾl-ʾbykm

O'Connor has italicized the repeated constituent *wšmʿw* in each line, and it is plain that *wšmʿw* is in the second position in 2a and in the first position in 2b. However, is it possible that the constituency position is continuous and *hqbṣw* has been gapped in the second line? If so, what are the criteria for recognizing elision? We will be in a position to answer this question after considering recent research into ellipsis in BH poetry, a topic I discuss in §2.3.2.1.

2.3 *HVS* in Light of Recent Research

We must understand O'Connor's linguistic framework to appreciate the six syntactic constraints on poetic lines that he articulated. O'Connor wrote *HVS* in the 1970s, when generative linguistics was in its early stages and few biblical scholars had attempted to apply the insights of generative

linguistics to BH. In §2.3.1, I describe the generative framework that lays the foundation for *HVS.* In §2.3.2, I introduce the linguistic theory on which my analysis is based: the generative "Minimalist Program" of Noam Chomsky. In §2.3.3, I revise O'Connor's syntactic constraints to bring them in line with developments in generative linguistic scholarship. In §2.3.4, I explain Holmstedt's conception of the "appositive style" of BH poetry, and argue that his approach to interlineal relationships is a compelling model to replace O'Connor's tropes. In §2.3.5, I summarize the findings of this chapter and suggest a way forward for BH poetry scholarship.

2.3.1 O'Connor's Linguistic Framework: Generative Linguistics in the 1960s-1970s

HVS is a published form of the doctoral dissertation O'Connor completed under the supervision of David Noel Freedman at the University of Michigan in 1978. Prior to the completion of his PhD in Near Eastern Studies, O'Connor completed a Bachelor of Arts in English and Classics from the University of Notre Dame in 1970, a Master of Arts in writing from the University of British Columbia in 1972, and a Master of Arts in ancient Near Eastern studies from the University of Michigan in 1978.[167] O'Connor's interest in language and poetics was broad, as evidenced by his engagement with generative grammarians[168] and with the work of linguistic

[167] Sidney H. Griffith and Monica J. Blanchard, "*In Memoriam:* Michael Patrick O'Connor", *CBQ* 70 (2008): 101.

[168] O'Connor refers to the "transformational grammar proposed by Harris" (*HVS,* 50), and tends to use the terms "transformational" and "generative" grammar interchangeably (e.g., *HVS,* 78). O'Connor is clearly conversant with the work of George Lakoff, James McCawley, Paul Postal, John R. Ross, and Noam Chomsky (see *HVS* §1.4.5). While O'Connor draws primarily from Lakoff, McCawley, Postal, and Ross, it is Chomsky who has become the most influential generative linguist of the past 50 years, and his work is the main point of continuity between O'Connor's methodological framework and my own. Therefore, I will focus on Chomsky's work in §2.3.1 and 2.3.2.

scholars such as Zellig Harris,[169] Paul Kiparsky,[170] and Roman Jakobson.[171] O'Connor's engagement with linguistic scholarship is a key component of *HVS,* and failure to understand O'Connor's methodology leads to misunderstanding the aims of his work. O'Connor insisted that a Syntactic Description of BH poetry is necessary because BH poetry is a literary artifact:

> The reading of a text requires that it be the text we are concerned with. Authorial intention in itself is not a central focus, though reference to intentionality is often a substitute for questions about the resources of the language, with which we are preoccupied. Authorial consciousness is also beyond our purview … If we fail to keep our gaze on the object, we are liable to start out with a blinding trivialization of the effort. Insipid assertions that poetry is an art, and "artistic feel" is needed for the analysis are harmful and misleading, reducing, in a ritual castration, formal description of poetry to the "merely technical." The romantic dichotomy between the "real" thing and the "way it's done" is inspired by the false fear that reading will exhaust the object; in truth, reading begun with such an attitude will exhaust the reader, and quickly. No reading will ever exhaust a poem.[172]

O'Connor confronts the idea that a formal syntactic description of poetry is impossible because of poets' creative use of language:

---

[169] Zellig Harris is best known as a Structuralist, but he was also influential in the development of Transformational Linguistics both in his own writing (*Methods in Structural Linguistics* [Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1951]; "Cooccurrence and Transformation in Linguistic Structure," *Language* 33.3 (1957): 283-340; *Papers in Structural and Transformational Linguistics,* Formal Linguistics Series 1 [Dordrecht: Reidel, 1970]) and in his impact on Noam Chomsky. Chomsky studied with Harris at the University of Pennsylvania and proofread Harris' *Methods in Structural Linguistics.* However, "Chomsky grew dissatisfied with Structuralism and started to develop his own major idea that syntax and phonology are in part matters of abstract representations. This was soon combined with a psychobiological view of language as a unique part of the mind/brain" (Howard Lasnik and Terje Lohndal, "Noam Chomsky" in *Oxford Research Encyclopedia, Linguistics,* Online Publication Date Aug 2017, DOI: 10.1093/acrefore/9780199384655.013.356).

[170] Kiparsky's generative approach to poetry and metre is a key component of O'Connor's approach to both lineal syntax (*HVS* §1.1.3, §1.4.1, §1.4.2, §1.7.1), and to the parallelistic "tropes" (e.g., word dyads [*HVS* §1.5.2] and gapping [*HVS* §1.5.7]).

[171] Roman Jakobson is not a generative grammarian; he is best known for helping to develop a "'Prague School' of Structural Functionalism which examined how meaning, discourse principles, and information structure shape grammar, and which played up the intersection of literature with linguistics" (Margaret Thomas, "American Structuralism" in *Oxford Research Encyclopedia, Linguistics,* Online Publication Date Mar 2019, DOI: 10.1093/acrefore/9780199384655.013.400). Roman Jakobson's remark that "Naive attempts to deal with variations without attacking the problem of invariants are condemned to failure" (quoted in *HVS,* 9) is an important concept for O'Connor: "Jakobson's warning points to the error of the work of Muilenburg and Alonso-Schökel, who tend to gather phenomena significant for literary study on a plane which they treat as isolated from 'mere' grammar … Working from a premise that 'a serious analysis of a poem cannot be satisfied with grammar, which in itself is substylistic,' he [Alonso-Schökel] commits the grave error of suggesting that analysis can begin at the level of what he calls a styleme (p. 11). This error is but a transmutation of the erroneous belief that grammar is a well-understood phenomenon with discrete boundaries. Serious theoretical linguists in this century have continually been driven back to first principles, often only to find that they were conceived on too narrow a base" (O'Connor, *HVS,* 10).

[172] O'Connor, *HVS,* 8-9.

> A tension between grammatical studies and treatments of verse often arises because it is claimed that grammar cannot deal with the ungrammaticality of poets. In fact, the argument is reversible: only if, for example, the grammar of English sentence structures is described, can the word order deviations called poetic inversions be treated.[173]

O'Connor's use of the example of word order shines a light on the extent to which our syntactic assumptions impact our interpretation of a poem.

O'Connor's syntactic assumptions are generative in nature. Noam Chomsky wrote two books in the 1960s that were foundational to the generative enterprise: *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax,* published in 1965, and *Cartesian Linguistics,* published in 1966.[174] Several components of *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax* help us understand O'Connor's linguistic assumptions. First, Chomsky argued for a distinction between competence and performance:

> Linguistic theory is concerned primarily with an ideal speaker-listener, in a completely homogenous speech-community, who knows its language perfectly and is unaffected by such grammatically irrelevant conditions as memory limitations, distractions, shifts of attention and interest, and errors (random or characteristic) in applying his knowledge of the language in actual performance …
>
> We thus make a fundamental distinction between *competence* (the speaker-hearer's knowledge of his language) and *performance* (the actual use of language in concrete situations). Only under the idealization set forth in the preceding paragraph is performance a direct reflection of competence. In actual fact, it obviously could not directly reflect competence … The problem for the linguist, as well as for the child learning the language, is to determine from the data of performance the underlying system of rules that has been mastered by the speaker-hearer and that he puts to use in actual performance.[175]

O'Connor holds a similar assumption, writing, "We assume that 'poems are unified compositions and … [that] the text has been transmitted faithfully' (Freedman 1976a: 85)."[176] The study of BH poetry is the study of linguistic performance, and in order to make any sense of the poetry, we must assume that the poem reflects linguistic competence.

---

[173] O'Connor, *HVS,* 16.

[174] The edition of *Aspects* I cite from is Noam Chomsky, *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax: 50th anniversary edition with a new preface by the author* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2015); the edition of *Cartesian Linguistics* I cite from is Noam Chomsky, *Cartesian Linguistics: A Chapter in the History of Rationalist Thought,* 3rd edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009). Chomsky had already completed *The Logical Structure of Linguistic Theory* in 1955 and published *Syntactic Structures* in 1957, but these books "contain very little explicit discussion of what Chomsky became famous for … namely an innate language faculty" (Howard Lasnik and Terje Lohndal, "Noam Chomsky" in *Oxford Research Encyclopedia, Linguistics*).

[175] Chomsky, *Aspects,* 1-2.

[176] O'Connor, *HVS,* 9.

A second component of Chomsky's work that is reflected in *HVS* is the notion of descriptive and explanatory adequacy. Chomsky defines descriptive adequacy thus:

> A grammar can be regarded as a theory of a language; it is *descriptively adequate* to the extent that it correctly describes the intrinsic competence of the idealized native speaker. The structural descriptions assigned to sentences by the grammar, the distinctions that it makes between well-formed and deviant, and so on, must, for descriptive adequacy, correspond to the linguistic intuition of the native speaker (whether or not he may be immediately aware of this) in a substantial and significant class of crucial cases.[177]

Because the interpreter of BH poetry lacks the resource of the native speaker, descriptive adequacy for poetry (a specialized form of language), depends on alignment with our description of BH grammar (based primarily on prose, a less specialized form of language). This is why O'Connor insists that a description of a syntactically regulated verse system "must refer to the features of the language as we know them"[178]–"Just as the description [of BH poetry] is limited by our knowledge of the grammar, so the grammar as we know it will check the description."[179]

Whereas a descriptively adequate grammar correctly describes the intrinsic competence of the idealized native speaker, Chomsky also sets the goal of *explanatory* adequacy, defined as follows:

> To the extent that a linguistic theory succeeds in selecting a descriptively adequate grammar on the basis of primary linguistic data, we can say that it meets the condition of explanatory adequacy. That is, to this extent, it offers an explanation for the intuition of the native speaker on the basis of an empirical hypothesis concerning the innate predisposition of the child to develop a certain kind of theory to deal with the evidence presented to him.[180]

Explanatory adequacy does not play a central role in *HVS,* but it is of critical importance to the Revised and Extended *HVS* Model with respect to phrase structure. I will return to explanatory adequacy, X-bar theory, and phrase structure in §2.3.2.

---

[177] Chomsky, *Aspects,* 24; emphasis original.

[178] O'Connor, *HVS,* 67.

[179] O'Connor, *HVS,* 67.

[180] Chomsky, *Aspects,* 25-26.

A third concept in Chomsky's *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax* reflected in *HVS* is the distinction between deep structure and surface structure. Because knowledge of a language involves the implicit ability to understand indefinitely many sentences, "A generative grammar must be a system of rules that can iterate to generate an indefinitely large number of structures. This system of rules can be analyzed into the three major components of a generative grammar: the syntactic, phonological, and semantic components":[181]

> The syntactic component specifies an infinite set of abstract formal objects, each of which incorporates all information relevant to a single interpretation of a particular sentence … The phonological component of a grammar determines the phonetic form of a sentence generated by the syntactic rules. That is, it relates a structure generated by the syntactic component to a phonetically represented signal. The semantic component determines the semantic interpretation of a sentence. That is, it relates a structure generated by the syntactic component to a certain semantic representation. Both the phonological and semantic components are therefore purely interpretive. Each utilizes information provided by the syntactic component concerning formatives, their inherent properties, and their interrelations in a given sentence. Consequently, the syntactic component of a grammar must specify, for each sentence, a *deep structure* that determines its semantic interpretation and a *surface structure* that determines its phonetic interpretation. [182]

When O'Connor was writing *HVS,* the concept of deep structure was controversial. O'Connor explains,

> We shall need to refer to some notions from the mainstream of modern American grammatical study. This work, which is generally called generative (-transformational) grammar, derives from Harris's idea that "complex sentences can be thought of as being in some way 'composed' of more elementary sentences, which may appear in a deformed shape in the complex sentence" (Ross 1967:27, cf. Harris 1970). Harris' rules serve to relate pairs of spoken sentences, regarding one as more basic than the other. Chomsky has pointed out that the more basic sentence need not be a pronounceable entity, but can be a structure of a different order. The relationship of such a structure, called deep, to meaning has been controversial … the matters of controversy are not crucial here since we are almost entirely concerned with surface structure.[183]

Even though O'Connor's work in *HVS* was primarily concerned with surface structure, the differentiation between deep and surface structure proved to be foundational to the development

---

[181] Chomsky, *Aspects,* 14.

[182] Chomsky, *Aspects,* 15; underlining mine, italics original.

[183] O'Connor, *HVS,* 78.

of generative grammar, to which we now turn.

2.3.2 The Linguistic Framework of this Study: Generative Linguistics and its Application to Biblical Hebrew, 1970-2020

In Chomsky's *Aspects,* the semantics of an utterance was determined primarily by deep structure.[184] Lasnik and Lohndal visualize the framework in *Aspects* thus:[185]

Table 1. The Interaction of Structure and Interpretation in Chomsky's *Aspects*

Deep Structure	→	Semantic Interpretation
↓		
Transformations (operating cyclically)		
↓		
Surface Structure	→	Phonetic Interpretation (via the 'sound-related' levels of morphophonemics, phonemics, and phonetics)

However, the framework in which semantics were determined almost entirely by D-structure was soon challenged:

> It was soon shown that the problem [of the framework in which D-structure is the input to semantic interpretation] is far more general, leading to a revised framework whereby both D-structure and S-structure contribute to semantic interpretation (Jackendoff, 1969; Chomsky, 1970B). This framework is known as the Extended Standard Theory (see also Chomsky, 1970A). Here D-structure only contributed information about grammatical relations, such as subject and object, whereas more or less all other aspects of meaning (scope, anaphora, focus, presupposition, etc.) are derived from S-Structures.[186]

---

[184] So too in Chomsky's 1970 article "Remarks on Nominalization," wherein Chomsky explicitly states his assumption that "it is the grammatical relations of the deep structure that determine the semantic interpretation" (Noam Chomsky, "Remarks on Nominalization" in *Readings in English Transformational Grammar,* edited by R. A. Jacobs and P.S. Rosenbaum [Waltham, MA: Ginn, 1970], 186, 189).

[185] Lasnik and Lohndal, *Oxford Research Encyclopedia, Linguistics,* s.v. "Noam Chomsky."

[186] Lasnik and Lohndal, *Oxford Research Encyclopedia, Linguistics,* s.v. "Noam Chomsky." "Jackendorf 1969" refers to R. Jackendoff, *Some Rules of Semantic Interpretation for English*, PhD diss., MIT; "Chomsky 1970A" refers to Noam Chomsky, "Remarks on Nominalization"; "Chomsky 1970B" refers to Noam Chomsky, "Deep structure, surface structure, and semantic interpretation," in *Studies in general and Oriental linguistics presented to*

A key component of the revised model (i.e. the Extended Standard Theory) is that both D- and S-structures contribute to semantic interpretation.[187] The Extended Standard Theory also suggested that gaps made by movement transformations left a trace that acts like a placeholder for lexical content.[188] The concept of traces reduced the motivation for D-structure as a level of representation, and D-structure was eliminated in *The Minimalist Program,* published in 1995.[189] The Extended Standard Theory also revised ideas associated with semantic and phonetic interpretation represented in Table 1 above; "semantic interpretation" became known as Logical Form (LF) and phonetic interpretation as Phonetic Form (PF). In the Extended Standard Theory, both LF and PF are "grammatical levels of *representation* and not the actual semantic logical forms or the phonetic encoding,"[190] and both D-structure *and* S-structure contribute to semantics. Lasnik and Lohndal's visualization of this new framework (known as the T-model)[191] is in Table 2 below.[192]

Shirô Hattori on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday, edited by R. Jakobson and S. Kawamoto (Tokyo: TEX, 1970), 52-91.

[187] Howard Lasnik and Terje Lohndal, "Government-binding/principles and parameters theory," *WIREs Cognitive Science* 1 (2010): 42.

[188] Lasnik and Lohndal, *Oxford Research Encyclopedia, Linguistics,* s.v. "Noam Chomsky."

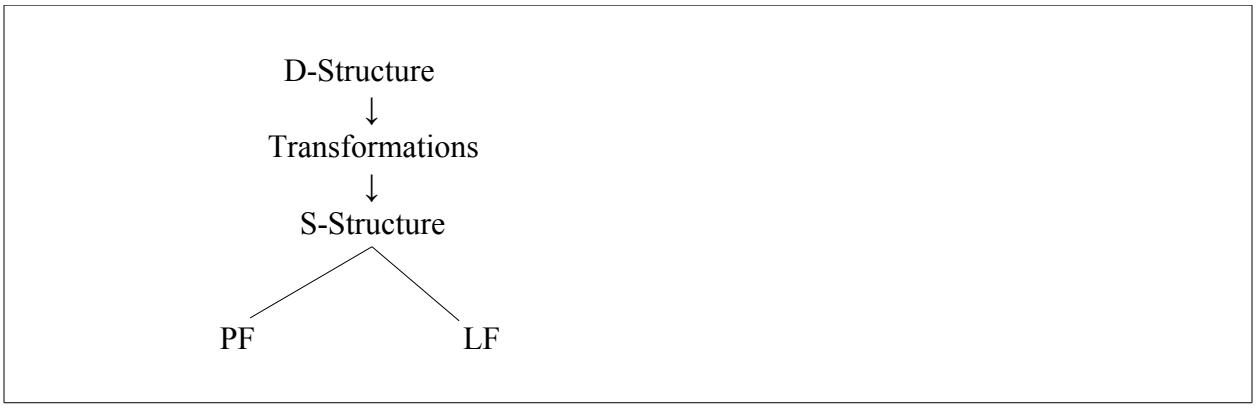
[189] Lasnik and Lohndal, *Oxford Research Encyclopedia, Linguistics,* s.v. "Noam Chomsky."

[190] Lasnik and Lohndal, *Oxford Research Encyclopedia, Linguistics,* s.v. "Noam Chomsky"; emphasis mine.

[191] The "T-model" is also described in Lasnik and Lohndal, "Government-binding/principles and parameters theory," 42.

[192] Lasnik and Lohndal, *Oxford Research Encyclopedia, Linguistics,* s.v. "Noam Chomsky."

Table 2. The "T-model": The Interaction of Structure and Interpretation in the Extended Standard Theory



Lasnik and Lohndal explain that

> The idea [illustrated in the T-model] is that when the grammar engine has constructed S-structure, this structure needs to get both a phonological/phonetic and a semantic representation. PF is the interface to the articulatory-perceptual systems and LF the interface to the conceptual-intentional system. Since the purpose of syntax is to yield a sound-meaning pair, these two interfaces were assumed to be required in any syntactic theory.[193]

The framework outlined in Table 2 was foundational for what came to be known as Principles and Parameters theory. One of the goals of Principles and Parameters theory as laid out in Chomsky and Lasnik's article "Filters and Control"[194] was to *explain* rather than simply *describe* grammar. Lasnik and Lohndal describe the aims of that article thus:

> Chomsky and Lasnik (1977) were concerned with restricting the grammar so that it would rule out options that should not be available. A major problem with earlier models was that they let in far too many structures and rules that did not occur. Constraining the grammar is important to get closer to the goal of *Aspects,* namely to provide explanations rather than just descriptions. Only that way is it possible to account for language acquisition and how grammatical competence develops and reaches its target state.[195]

In order to explain rather than simply describe grammar, the range of grammatical options needed to be narrowed.[196] To that end, Chomsky continued to develop the Principles and

[193] Lasnik and Lohndal, "Government-binding/principles and parameters theory," 42.

[194] Noam Chomsky and Howard Lasnik, "Filters and Control," *Linguistic Inquiry* Vol 8 No 3 (1977): 425-504.

[195] Lasnik and Lohndal, *Oxford Research Encyclopedia, Linguistics,* s.v. "Noam Chomsky."

[196] "A theory of language, regarded as one component of a theory of the human mind, must make available grammars for all possible human languages. To attain explanatory adequacy, the theory must in addition show how the learner selects the correct grammar from among all the available ones, based on restricted data. The theories of

Parameters model in his *Lectures on Government and Binding,* published in 1981.[197] By the time he wrote *Lectures,* Chomsky had established several foundational concepts for generative theory. First, Chomsky argued that human beings had evolved an innate Language Faculty (FL) that accounts for the acquisition of language in children. Second, the Language Faculty can be described by the theory of Universal Grammar (UG). Chomsky describes UG in *Lectures* thus:

> The theory of UG must meet two obvious conditions. On the one hand, it must be compatible with the diversity of existing (indeed, possible) grammars. At the same time, UG must be sufficiently constrained and restrictive in the options it permits so as to account for the fact that each of these grammars develops in the mind on the basis of quite limited evidence … What we expect to find, then, is a highly structured theory of UG based on a number of fundamental principles that sharply restrict the class of attainable grammars and narrowly constrain their form, but with parameters that have to be fixed by experience.[198]

Lasnik and Lohndal explain the significance of the UG in the Principles and Parameters model in *Lectures*:

> This model was a sharp break from earlier approaches, under which universal grammar specified an infinite array of possible grammars, and explanatory adequacy required an unfeasible search procedure to find the highest-valued one, given primary linguistic data. The P&P approach eliminated all this. There is no enumeration of the array of possible grammars. There are only finitely many targets for acquisition, and no search procedure apart from valuing parameters. This cuts through an impasse: descriptive adequacy requires rich and varied grammars, hence, unfeasible search; explanatory adequacy requires feasible search.[199]

Holmstedt summarizes these concepts succinctly: "Universal Grammar consists of *principles* of language; how the principles are manifested in particular languages is controlled by a finite set of options (or *parameters*) for each principle (hence, the common name for the theory, Principles and Parameters)."[200]

---

the 1950s and early 1960s made an infinite number of grammars available, so the explanatory problem was severe" (H. Lasnik and T. Lohndal, "Brief overview of the history of generative syntax" in *The Cambridge Handbook of Generative Syntax,* edited by M. den Dikken [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013], pp. 27-28).

Ray Jackendoff describes the developments in generative linguistics thus: "In the late sixties, the relation of syntax to semantics was the main arena; in the seventies, constraints on the transformational component" (Ray Jackendoff, *X-Bar Syntax: A Study of Phrase Structure,* Linguistic Inquiry Monographs 2 [Cambridge: MIT Press, 1977], xi).

[197] Noam Chomsky, *Lectures on Government and Binding* (Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Foris, 1981).

[198] Chomsky, *Lectures on government and binding,* 4.

[199] Howard Lasnik and Terje Lohndal, "Government-binding/principles and parameters theory," 43.

In "Government-binding/principles and parameters theory," Lasnik and Lohndal argue that Minimalism developed out of Government and Binding Theory, and outline what they take to be the core aspects of GB and the Minimalist Program.[201] I will highlight two components relevant to the Revised and Extended *HVS* model. The first core component of the GB and the Minimalist program that is critical for the Revised and Extended *HVS* model is the X-bar theory of phrase structure. X-bar theory was first articulated in the late 1960s and was developed in the following decades.[202] X-bar theory proposes limitations on phrase structure rules. The first presentation of X-bar theory is found in Chomsky's 1970 "Remarks on Nominalization." Chomsky presented a simple schema: " $\overline{X} \rightarrow X...$ ".[203] In this schema, the "X" represents a member of a lexical category: Nouns, Verbs, or Adjectives.[204] The symbol $\overline{X}$ stands for a constituent containing X as its "head" (the central and essential element of the phrase), as well as those elements appearing in the place indicated by "…"[205] Carnie explains, "All phrases appear to have *heads.* A head is the most prominent element in a phrasal category and gives its part of speech to the whole phrase."[206] The requirement that all phrases have heads is called *endocentricity*.[207]

---

[200] Robert Holmstedt, "The Relative Clause in Biblical Hebrew: A Linguistic Analysis" (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin – Madison, 2002), 160; emphasis original.

[201] "Our view is that Minimalism builds upon and rationalizes the successes of the Government and Binding framework. Not only does Minimalism reach for explaining the properties of the language faculty, it also tries to explain why the specific properties are the way they are" (Lasnik and Lohndal, "Government-binding/principles and parameters theory," 40).

[202] Andrew Carnie writes, "The bar notation (actually the numerical N^1, N^2, etc. equivalents) is first found in a work on the substitution task for identifying constituency within the word in Harris (1946). This work emphasizes the differences among types of hierarchical modifier, but it does not focus on the syntax, nor does it use the variable notation prevalent in modern X-bar theory. The point of Harris's notation was to limit overgeneration of recursive structures within words. Chomsky (1970) adapted this part of the notation but developed it into the beginnings of X-bar theory" (Andrew Carnie, *Constituent Structure* 2nd ed [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010], 129).

[203] Noam Chomsky, "Remarks on nominalization," 210.

[204] "Chomsky (1970a) only discusses NPs, VPs, and APs, not PPs. One goal of Jackendoff (1977) is to bring PPs under the X-bar theoretic fold. So at the end of the 1970s, a quite general picture of phrase structure had started to emerge" (Lasnik and Lohndal, "Brief overview of the history of generative syntax" in *The Cambridge Handbook of Generative Syntax* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013], 44.

[205] Naoki Fukui, "Phrase Structure," in *Handbook of Contemporary Syntactic Theory,* ed. Mark Baltin and Chris Collins (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), 380.

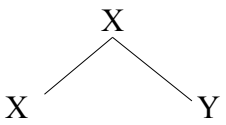
[206] Andrew Carnie, *Syntax: A Generative Introduction* 3rd edition (Walden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), 173.

[207] Carnie, *Syntax,* 173.

X-bar theory represents syntactic structures in trees. In a tree, syntactic relationships are represented by branches. Holmstedt explains that "Earlier forms of Chomskyan generative syntax allowed for '*n*-ary' branching (i.e. whatever number of branches appear to be required) and some non-Chomskyan generative frameworks maintain a *n*-ary principle of phrase structure. However, since the mid-1980s, the Government-and-Binding model, followed by minimalist syntax, adopted a strictly binary approach to constituent structure."[208] Holmstedt continues:

> Binarity in phrase structure is directly related to "Merge," which is the primary operation in Chomsky's bare phrase structure (Carnie 2010: 155-158; see also Boeckx 2008: 28-120). To simplify, Merge takes two constituents, for example, *X* and *Y,* from the lexicon and combines them into a set {X, Y}. This set includes both *X* and *Y* and has either the form '*X, 'X,Y*' ' or '*Y, 'X,Y*' '. The choice between these two options is based upon which item, *X* or *Y, projects* itself in order to give the new larger item its identity (see Adger 2003: 73-90; and Boeckx 2008: 91-98). In other words, the lexical item that projects shares its bundle of lexical features with the newly formed category: this lexical item that projects is called a *head*.[209]

The newly merged constituent in Holmstedt's example can be represented thus:



Holmstedt goes on:

> If we substitute the items *ate* and *food* for *X* and *Y,* the new object created after the operation Merge may have either the form 'ate, 'ate,food' ' or 'food, 'ate,food' '. The choice between these two depends on which one of these lexical items gives its identity to the larger object, a choice that is determined by the structure and lexicon of the particular language in question and how the two items being merged can possibly relate to each other. In English, it is the verb *ate* that projects, producing the first of the two choices, 'ate, 'ate,food'' – what is typically referred to as a verb phrase (VP).[210]

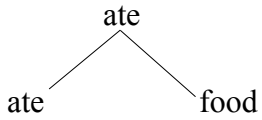
---

[208] Robert Holmstedt, *The Relative Clause in Biblical Hebrew,* 39. O'Connor was working within an *n*-ary branching model; see *HVS* §1.4.5.

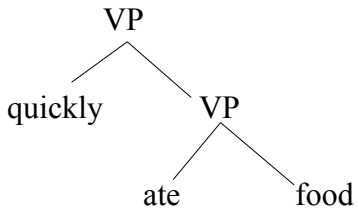
[209] Holmstedt, *The Relative Clause in Biblical Hebrew,* 39.

[210] Holmstedt, *The Relative Clause in Biblical Hebrew,* 39-40.

The VP in Holmstedt's example can be illustrated thus:



Note that the verb *ate* projects into the phrase *ate food*; this is a matter of importance for constituency rules in the Revised and Extended *HVS* Model. Holmstedt explains that "The operation Merge applies to a phrase as many times as necessary in order to incorporate all the available constituents. Thus, in the Verb Phrase *quickly ate food* a first Merge would produce *ate food* ... and a second application of Merge would account for the adverb, *quickly ate food*."[211] The phrase *quickly ate food* would result in the following structure:



The Binarity Principle states that the merge operation is binary:[212] "It combines one item, no matter how simple or complex, with another item, no matter how simple or complex, and results in a larger constituent in which one of the merged items is the head that projects its identity onto the whole."[213]

The second core component of GB and the Minimalist program that is critical for the Revised and Extended *HVS* model is the concept of *government*. Crystal explains, "In relation to government-binding theory, a **governing category** is the minimal structure (noun phrase or sentence) within which the relationships of binding obtain … the **governor** refers to the superordinate node in a dependency tree, which 'governs' or 'controls' a set of 'dependent'

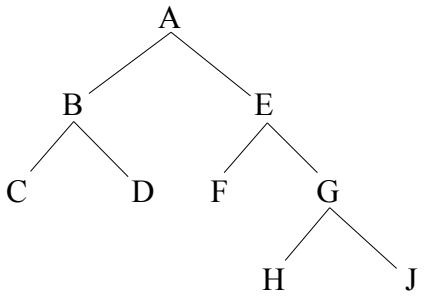
---

[211] Holmstedt, *The Relative Clause in Biblical Hebrew,* 40.

[212] The Binarity Principle states that "All nonterminal nodes are binary-branching" (Andrew Radford, *Syntactic Theory and the Structure of English: A minimalist approach,* Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997], 98).

[213] Holmstedt, *The Relative Clause in Biblical Hebrew,* 41.

nodes."[214] Andrew Radford explains government in *Syntactic Theory and the Structure of English: A minimalist approach* this way:

> Any given pair of nodes contained in the same P[hrase]-marker will be related by one of two different types of relation, namely either (i) by **dominance** (i.e. hierarchical/top-to-bottom ordering), or (ii) by **precedence** (i.e. linear/left-to-right ordering). We can illustrate what these terms mean in terms of the following abstract tree structure (where A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, and J are labelled nodes):
>
> 
>
>
> The *dominance* relations between nodes (relating to whether one node occurs higher up in the structure than another) are indicated by the branches (i.e. solid lines) in the tree; the *precedence* relations between nodes (i.e. whether one node occurs to the left of another or not) are indicated by the relative left-to-right ordering of nodes on the printed page. (We can say that one node X *precedes* another node Y if X occurs to the left of Y, and if neither node dominates the other.)[215]

In this tree, B and E are "daughters" of A, and sisters of one another. A *governs* B and E. B *precedes* E, but does not govern it. Furthermore, we can say that A *projects* into B and E (and B projects into C and D; E projects into F and G). A *projection* is an expansion of a head word, and a *maximal projection* is a constituent which is not contained within any larger constituent with the same head.[216]

Now that I have laid the methodological framework for the Revised and Extended *HVS* model, we are in a position to discuss recent research into ellipsis and vocatives in BH poetry.

---

[214] Crystal, *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics* 6th ed., s.v. "govern".

[215] Andrew Radford, *Syntactic Theory and the Structure of English: a minimalist approach*, Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 99; emphasis original.

[216] Radford, *Syntactic Theory,* 524.

2.3.2.1 Recent Research on Ellipsis in BH Poetry

The phenomenon that O'Connor calls "gapping" refers to the syntactic phenomenon of elision.[217] Cynthia Miller has examined ellipsis from a cross-linguistic perspective and sets the context for one of her studies of elision in BH this way:

> First, all languages have elliptical constructions, but no language allows ellipsis to occur "promiscuously." By this I mean that no language allows ellipsis to operate in unlimited or unconstrained ways. Instead, every language allows only a discrete set of patterns for ellipsis. These patterns are unconsciously recognized and used by native speakers; they can be identified and described by means of linguistic analysis. Biblicists have tended to operate on the assumption that anything can be deleted anywhere, so long as the result "makes sense" within the context. But this assumption is not supported by linguistic studies of ellipsis.[218]

Miller explains that "Ellipsis involves words that are not phonologically present, but whose existence is understood by speakers and hearers, as well as writers and readers."[219] In other words, "ellipsis is a syntactic phenomenon that involves the deletion of a required element out of coordinate structures."[220] This deletion leaves a structural hole or gap, thereby producing an utterance whose surface structure is grammatically incomplete.[221]

Ellipsis in BH poetry consists of two *conjuncts* (i.e., two conjoined structures of the same type) which may or may not be overtly coordinated with the conjunction -ו *waw,* and may or may not correspond to the poetic bicolon.[222] Ellipsis is possible between two lines in biblical verse only

---

[217] Cynthia Miller notes that linguists use the term "gapping" to refer "to a specific kind of verbal ellipsis," so she uses the neutral term "deleted" or "elided" instead (Cynthia Miller, "A Linguistic Approach to Ellipsis in Biblical Poetry (Or, What to Do When Exegesis of What Is There Depends on What Isn't)," *Bulletin for Biblical Research* 13:2 [2003]: 253). I will refer to deleted constituents as elided constituents.

[218] Miller, "A Linguistic Approach to Ellipsis," 259.

[219] Cynthia Miller, "Ellipsis Involving Negation in Biblical Poetry" in *Seeking out the wisdom of the ancients: Essays offered to honour Michael V. Fox on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday,* edited by Ronald L. Troxel, Kelvin G. Friebel, and Dennis R. Magary (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2005), 37.

[220] Cynthia Miller-Naudé, "Exploring the Limits of Ambiguity in Biblical Poetry: Interpreting Elliptical Structures," *Journal for Semitics* 20/2 (2011): 332.

[221] Cynthia Miller, *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics,* s.v. "Ellipsis"; first published online in 2013. Because ellipsis operates on coordinate structures, ellipsis does not occur between a main clause and a subordinate clause.

[222] Miller, *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics,* s.v. "Ellipsis."

when the lines are coordinate, with each line comprising a clausal conjunct.[223] However, ellipsis is also possible within a single line of poetry if it contains two coordinate clauses. Therefore, ellipsis does not require more than one line of verse.[224]

In an elliptical construction, the *elided constituent* is the constituent that is omitted but whose presence is understood. The *antecedent* is the constituent from which the elided constituent receives its interpretation. The conjunct containing the elided constituent has *remnants,* that is, constituents remaining after the ellipsis, and the conjunct containing the antecedent has *correspondents,* that is, constituents that correspond to the remnants. Consider the following example from Hos 5:8, in which ANT stands for *antecedent,* the conjuncts are separated by | , the elided constituent is represented by square brackets [ ], correspondents are single underlined and remnants are double-underlined:[225]

(xix) תִּקְעוּ שׁוֹפָר֙ בַּגִּבְעָ֔ה חֲצֹצְרָ֖ה בָּרָמָ֑ה

tiqʿû	*šōpār baggibʿâ*	[ ] *ḥăṣōṣrâ bārāmâ*
ANT		[ ]
Sound a ram's horn in Gibeah,		[ ] a trumpet in Ramah

Ellipsis of this kind is called *forwards* ellipsis because the antecedent occurs in the first conjunct and the elided constituent occurs in the second conjunct; *backwards* ellipsis describes the opposite scenario in which the elided constituent occurs in the first conjunct and the antecedent in the second conjunct.[226]

There are a number of syntactic constraints on verbal ellipsis in particular. First, like all ellipsis, verbal ellipsis operates within coordinate structures.[227] In BH poetry, the constituents of each

---

[223] Miller, "Ellipsis Involving Negation," 42; Cynthia Miller, "The Relation of Coordination to Verb Gapping in Biblical Poetry," *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 32.1 (2007): 49.

[224] Miller, "Ellipsis Involving Negation," 42.

[225] This example and the preceding definitions are derived from Miller, *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics,* s.v. "Ellipsis."

[226] Miller, *EHLL,* s.v. "Ellipsis."

[227] Miller, "A Linguistic Approach to Ellipsis," 260.

conjunct may be arranged in the same order or in chiastic (mirror) order.[228] Example (xix) above is an example of constituents in identical order; Isaiah 28:27 below is an example of chiastic order:

(xx) כִּי בַמַּטֶּה יֵחָבֶט קֶצַח וְכַמֹּן בַּשֵּׁבֶט

kî bammaṭṭê yēḥābeṭ qeṣaḥ | wəkammōn [ ] baššābeṭ

ANT

but with a stick dill is beaten out | and cumin [ ] with a rod

In this example, the remnants and correspondents occur in chiastic order: PP, V, S | S, elided V, PP.[229]

Second, ellipsis may take place when the verb is in initial, medial, or final position. Initial position elision, the most common position for verbal elision, is illustrated in Hosea 5:8 (example xix above). Isaiah 28:27 (example xx) features medial-position elision. Final-position elision is illustrated in Isaiah 55:4:

(xxi) הֵן עֵד לְאוּמִּים נְתַתִּיו נָגִיד וּמְצַוֵּה לְאֻמִּים

hēn ʿēd ləʾûmmîm nətattîw | nāgîd ûməṣawwê ləʾummîm [ ]

ANT

Behold, I made him a leader of peoples, | A prince and commander of peoples [ ]

Example (xxi) exhibits final position *forwards* ellipsis. Final position *backwards* ellipsis of the verb is also permitted in BH poetry, as evidenced by Song 4:8:

(xxii) אִתִּי מִלְּבָנוֹן כַּלָּה אִתִּי מִלְּבָנוֹן תָּבוֹאִי

ʾittî milləbānôn [ ] kallâ | ʾittî milləbānôn tābôʾî

ANT

With me from Lebanon [ ], my bride, | with me from Lebanon come

While the vocative *kallâ* 'my bride' comes after the ellipsis site, the vocative does not 'count' as a clausal constituent for purposes of ellipsis, and thus, the elided constituent is at the end of the

[228] Miller, *EHLL,* s.v. "Ellipsis."

line.[230] The fact that BH poetry allows for backwards ellipsis only at the end of the clause is important. Miller explains,

> Cross-linguistically, the fact that backwards gapping in Hebrew appears only in syntactic contexts where the verb is final in the clause is highly significant. Other languages that allow backwards gapping (such as Russian and Japanese) do so only from final deletion sites. The Hebrew data are thus in accord with expected cross-linguistic typologies.[231]

In conclusion, Miller has identified three conditions required for ellipsis to take place in BH. First, ellipsis operates on coordinate structures,[232] and requires "content-identity between antecedent and elided element so that the elided element can be restored by the hearer or reader."[233] Verbal ellipsis in particular requires content-identity with respect to the lexical verb, *binyan,* aspect, and modality. However, "an imperative can serve as the antecedent for the deletion of a jussive (e.g., Joel 1.3; Ps. 115.1) and a perfect consecutive can serve as the antecedent for the deletion of a negated imperfect (e.g., Gen. 27.12)."[234]

Second, the two halves of the coordinate sentence must correspond syntactically: "In Biblical Hebrew, this requirement usually means that the constituents in the two lines match exactly."[235]

---

[229] This is example is from Miller, *EHLL,* s.v. "Ellipsis."

[230] Miller, *EHLL,* s.v. "Ellipsis." In "A Linguistic Approach to Ellipsis," Miller expands on this point:

> When the verb is in initial or medial position, the direction of ellipsis is always forwards. However, when the verb is in final position, the direction of ellipsis may be either forwards … or backwards … In other words, backwards ellipsis only occurs when the verb is in final position. This observation about backwards ellipsis corresponds to what we know about ellipsis cross-linguistically. Languages that allow backwards ellipsis, such as Russian and Japanese, do so from final position. The positional restriction on backwards ellipsis in biblical poetry is not a result of limited data, but rather is in accord with cross-linguistic patterns of ellipsis (Miller, "A Linguistic Approach to Ellipsis," 264; see also Miller, "The Relation of Coordination to Verb Gapping," 51).

I will address vocatives below, but Miller consistently argues that vocatives do not count as clausal constituents for the purposes of ellipsis; she also makes this point in "Ellipsis Involving Negation," 43, and "Constraints on Ellipsis in Biblical Hebrew" in *Studies in comparative Semitic and Afroasiatic linguistics presented to Gene B. Gragg,* edited by Cynthia Miller (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2007), 167.

[231] Miller, "The Relation of Coordination to Verb Gapping," 50-51.

[232] Miller, "Exploring the Limits of Ambiguity," 333.

[233] Miller, *EHLL,* s.v. "Ellipsis"; "The biblical scholar must recognize that ellipsis has occurred and then must transform the sentence fragment into a meaningful sentence" (Miller, "A Linguistic Approach to Ellipsis," 253).

[234] Miller, *EHLL,* s.v. "Ellipsis."

[235] Miller, "A linguistic approach to ellipsis," 261.

There are also constraints on how far removed an antecedent may be from an elided constituent.[236] An ellipsis site typically finds its antecedent in the nearest acceptable conjunct, but BH poetry also allows for a non-local antecedent in some cases.[237]

Third, the item that is present (the antecedent) and the item that is elided must be lexically identical.[238] Lexical identity also applies to elliptical constructions involving negation: "When ellipsis involves negation, the requirement of lexical identity means that the specific negative particle must be identical in both conjuncts."[239]

2.3.2.2 Recent Research on Vocatives in BH Poetry

As I explained in §2.1.1, O'Connor understood vocatives as "remnants of predication," and therefore he counted them as minor predicators.[240] Further research into the syntax of vocatives allows for some nuancing of O'Connor's approach to this syntactic phenomenon.

---

[236] Miller, *EHLL,* s.v. "Ellipsis."

[237] Miller cites Zech 9:5 as one such instance in *EHLL,* s.v. "Ellipsis," and Ps 18:42 in "Constraints on Ellipsis in Biblical Hebrew," 176. In "A Linguistic Approach to Ellipsis," Miller explains that

> Native speakers are able to process sentence fragments … effortlessly because they have two kinds of innate syntactic knowledge – knowledge of the underlying syntactic structures of their language, and knowledge of the ways in which ellipsis operates upon those structures. Nonetheless, syntax alone is not sufficient for interpreting elliptical structures; native speakers also must rely on their knowledge of semantics (the meanings of words) and pragmatics (the uses of words within the speech context) (Miller, "A Linguistic Approach to Ellipsis," 254-255).

Miller uses the example *John ate the apples slowly and the horse quickly,* which could mean *John ate the apples slowly and* [John ate] *the horse quickly,* or *John ate the apples slowly and the horse* [ate the apples] *quickly.* A native speaker must use syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic cues in order to correctly interpret the elision.

[238] Miller, "Exploring the Limits of Ambiguity," 334.

[239] Miller, "Ellipsis Involving Negation," 43.

[240] O'Connor, *HVS,* 80, 86-87. O'Connor views both vocatives and "focus markers" as "minor predicators," but he does not clearly *define* focus markers. I have decided not to use the term *focus marker* in the Revised and Extended *HVS* model. I analyze interjections/exclamatives the same way I analyze vocatives, which is to say, I count them as prosodic words but not as constituents because they are not part of the argument structure of the verb. In *The Syntactic Phenomena of English: Vol 2,* James McCawley notes that both interjections and vocatives "often have host S[entence]s but are not obviously constituents of the host Ss" (James D. McCawley, *The Syntactic Phenomena of English: Vol 2,* 1st ed. [Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1988] 765), and Cynthia Miller has also remarked that "In the sense that vocatives are only loosely integrated into the sentence in which they occur, they are very similar to another linguistic category, exclamatives or interjections" (Miller, "Vocative Syntax in Biblical Hebrew Prose and Poetry: A Preliminary Analysis," *Journal of Semitic Studies* LV/2 [Autumn 2010]: 354).

Before considering the syntax of the vocative, it is necessary to define the phenomenon itself. In a chapter about linguistic terminology, Martin Haspelmath begins with a word of warning: "As in all areas of grammar, the terminology surrounding phenomena is often not straightforward: Linguists with different backgrounds use the same terms for somewhat or radically different concepts, or they use different terms for very similar or identical concepts."[241] Miller observes that this terminological ambiguity certainly applies to vocatives:

> As Haspelmath (2009: 514) notes, "the vocative form of the noun is often considered a case, following the Greek and Latin tradition, but it clearly does not fall under the standard definition of case," i.e., it does not express dependency relations within the sentence, but stands outside of the sentence syntax.[242]

If "the vocative" is not a BH case, then what is it? James D. McCawley explains that vocatives are not constituents of sentences even though they are often linked to particular sentences:[243]

> While vocatives commonly have sentences as hosts, are integrated intonationally with their host sentences, and often occur in the middle of the host sentence … it is not obvious that a vocative is a syntactic constituent of the host sentence. Indeed, linguistic phenomena that are contingent on identity between constituents, e.g., $\overline{V}$- deletion, apply as if the vocative weren't there … The absence, to my knowledge, of any respects in

---

[241] Martin Haspelmath, "Terminology of Case" in *The Oxford Handbook of Case,* edited by Andrej Malchukov and Andrew Spencer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009; online publication date Sept 2012), 505.

[242] Cynthia Miller, "Definiteness and the Vocative in Biblical Hebrew," *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages* 36/1 (2010), p 44, n 2.

[243] McCawley, *The Syntactic Phenomena of English: Vol 2,* 763.

> which vocatives behave like syntactic constituents of linguistic units that they appear in suggests that one of the following two things is the case; either they are adjoined to the host S[entence] at the top of the syntactic structure … or they simply do not make up syntactic units with the host S.[244]

McCawley operates under the latter assumption, namely, that vocatives are not part of the sentence unit but stand outside of it.[245] However, "That does not remove vocatives from the realm of syntax, since vocatives still have both an internal syntax and an external syntax that must be described: it is necessary to specify what a vocative can consist of, which may be fairly complex … and it is necessary to specify what locations in the host S[entence] can serve as a niche for a vocative."[246]

Cynthia Miller has set her hand to the task of describing both the internal and external syntax of vocatives in BH.[247] With respect to internal syntax, Miller has established that "While personal names and kinship terms comprise the core lexical domain for vocatives … common nouns and noun phrases are regularly used in vocative expressions, though often in idiosyncratic ways (Zwicky 1974), as are second-person pronouns."[248] Miller has also shown that "vocative expressions in and of themselves are neutral with respect to definiteness," which has challenged a widespread assumption that vocatives in BH are usually definite.[249]

---

[244] McCawley, *The Syntactic Phenomena of English: Vol 2,* 763-764.

[245] McCawley notes that interjections act much the same way (*The Syntactic Phenomena of English: Vol 2,* 765).

[246] McCawley, *The Syntactic Phenomena of English: Vol 2,* 764.

[247] Cynthia Miller, "Definiteness and the Vocative in Biblical Hebrew," *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages* 36/1 (2010): 43-64; "Vocative Syntax in Biblical Hebrew Prose and Poetry: A Preliminary Analysis," *Journal of Semitic Studies* LV/2 (Autumn 2010): 347-364. Miller puts more focus on internal syntax in "Definiteness and the Vocative," and more focus on external syntax in "Vocative Syntax."

[248] Cynthia Miller, "Definiteness and the Vocative in Biblical Hebrew," *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages* 36/1 (2010): 44.

[249] Miller, "Definiteness and the Vocative," 49-50. McCawley describes "internal" and "external" syntax thus:

> I hold that "NP" is not a "classical" category, to which an item either belongs plain and simple or does not belong plain and simple, but rather a **fuzzy category,** to which items can belong in different respects and/or to different degrees, and that the category NP has (at least) the following dimensions:
> i. **Semantic.** An item is semantically a NP if it expresses an argument of the predicate element with which it is combined.
> ii. **Internal Syntactic.** An item is a NP in internal syntax if it has a form typical of items that express logical arguments, i.e., if it is a pronoun or proper name or of the form Det $\overline{N}$.
> iii. **External syntactic.** An item is a NP in external syntax if it occurs in a position typical of items that express logical arguments, i.e., if it occurs in subject or object position, or as object of a preposition.
> An alternative, not completely equivalent, statement of the idea of iii is:
> iii'. An item is a NP "by inheritance" if it occupies an "argument position" in the sense that either (a) it is

With respect to the external syntax of vocatives in BH poetry, vocatives can be clause-initial, clause-medial, or clause-final.[250] One of Miller's most important findings for the Revised and Extended *HVS* model of BH poetry is the role vocatives may play in the discernment of line boundaries:

> It appears, then, that the vocative is frequently used to assist the hearer/reader in inferring line ends … we can see that the vocative is especially used as a means to effectively delimit the ends of clause boundaries and thus the ends of lines. This poetic function of the vocative is especially apparent in couplets involving ellipsis.[251]

Miller demonstrates this point with an example from Psalm 119:41:

(xxiii) ויבאני חסדך יהוה תשועתך כאמרתך
Let your steadfast love come to me, *O LORD,*
[ ] your salvation according to your promise.

Miller explains, "The vocative helps to prevent us from reading תשועתך and חסדך as appositional phrases. Instead, we must consider them to be constituents of different clauses."[252] I conclude this section on vocative syntax with Miller's summary:

> We can explain the use of the vocative as an indicator of clause ends and thus of line ends as follows. The vocative usually occurs at the margins of clauses. The vocative also has an intonational contour that sets it off from the speech that surrounds it. When ellipsis occurs within poetic lines, the fragmented surface structure must be restored by the hearer/reader, who accomplishes this feat only by properly aligning the two lines, matching their structures, and determining what belongs in the gap. If the lines cannot be correlated, the fragmented structure cannot be restored. A vocative contributes to the implied lineation in two ways. First, a vocative between the lines sets the second line off phonologically. And second, the vocative implies that the second line should be set off syntactically from what precedes. The implied division into two lines is thus assisted by the presence of the vocative between them.[253]

> a logical argument and has not been moved from its deep structure position or (b) it has replaced an item that is a NP by (a) or (b).

(James D. McCawley, *The Syntactic Phenomena of English: Vol. 1*, 1st ed. [Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1988], 188, emphasis original.)

[250] Miller, "Vocative Syntax," 359.

[251] Miller, "Vocative Syntax," 361.

[252] Miller, "Vocative Syntax," 361.

2.3.3 Revising the Line Constraints in Light of Recent Research

In this section, I put forward my revisions of the syntactic constraints on BH lines that O'Connor identified based on an updated generative grammatical foundation and recent scholarship in BH poetry.

2.3.3.1 Constraint 1: Lines contain between 1 and 4 phonologically expressed constituents.

O'Connor's first two constraints read, "1. *On clause predicators.* No line contains more than three. 2. *On constituents.* No line contains fewer than one or more than four."[254] I have streamlined these first two constraints so that the first constraint in the Revised and Extended *HVS* Model reads:

> Lines contain between 1 and 4 phonologically expressed constituents. All heads that result in maximal projection within and including the verb phrase (and including the verb) are visible (i.e., overt, non-null) as constituents for poetic analysis.

I have replaced the term *predicator* with *verb.* The term *verb* includes all finite verbs and the Infinitive (trad. Infinitive Construct). Null copulas and elided verbs are counted as verbs, but they are not counted as constituents or prosodic words, because only phonologically expressed items are counted as prosodic words or constituents. Null copulas and elided verbs are identified in the presentation of my analysis so they can be easily recognized (for examples, see my analysis in chapters 3 and 4).

Participles are not counted as verbs; they are analyzed as adjectives accompanied by a null copula (for an example, see my analysis of 2 Sam 1:21d in chapter 3).[255] The Tautological Infinitive is not counted as a verb. In TI-constructions, the finite verb is counted as both a

---

[253] Miller, "Vocative Syntax," 362.

[254] O'Connor, *HVS,* 87.

[255] John A. Cook, "The Hebrew Participle and Stative in Typological Perspective," *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages* 34/1 (2008): 1-19. "The participle adjective differs from both prototypical adjectives and the stative adjective in that it is not limited to encoding properties or states, but can encode non-stative event predicates. It is with just this characteristic that confusion arises over the classification of the participle, so that it has been argued that the participle must be treated as a verb whenever it governs an object … However, in light of Stassen's typology we can better explain this mixed character of the predicative participle as a case of verb switching or nominal takeover, whereby event predicates in Biblical Hebrew are encoded not only with the prototypical verbal strategy (i.e., with a finite verbal conjugation), but may also be encoded nominally or locatively in the participle form as the complement of a supporting copula" (Cook, "The Hebrew Participle," 11-12).

constituent and as a prosodic word, but the TI is counted only as a prosodic word (for an example, see my analysis of Lam 1:2a in chapter 4).

Unlike O'Connor, I do not count extra-sentential items like exclamatives and vocatives as verbs; I count them as prosodic words but not constituents (more on this below). I have increased the acceptable number of verbs in a line from 3 to 4. O'Connor found that the maximum number of "predicators" in his corpus was 3, but when the lens is widened to include more BH poems, 4-verb lines are attested. Consider Ezekiel 21:21 below:[256]

(xxiv) הִתְאַחֲדִי הֵימָנִי הָשִׂימִי הַשְׂמֵילִי
Be united! Turn to the right! Turn! Go to the left!

According to O'Connor's constraint, the line would need to be broken after the second imperative, but the urgency of these four imperatives in quick succession seems better suited to a single line. While O'Connor's constraints accurately described his (necessarily limited) corpus, it is not surprising that a larger corpus necessitates revisions to his constraints. Increasing the maximum number of verbs from 3 to 4 will more adequately describe the corpus of BH poetry. This revision also results in a logical situation in which the maximum number of constituents and the maximum number of verbs are identical in number.

Concerning constituents, O'Connor states that "Each verb and nominal phrase, along with the particles dependent on it, is a constituent."[257] With respect to "dependent particles," O'Connor explains, "The particle class includes all conjunctions, markers of negation and emphasis, and prepositions. A particle is said to be dependent on the noun or verb that follows it directly."[258] In current generative scholarship, a preposition is not subordinate to the noun it modifies. Rather, a preposition is the head of a prepositional phrase, and the noun is subordinate to its preposition.

O'Connor explains that constituency has to do with "Verbs and nouns as they function together in the syntax. Since verbs are only used independently, it is nominal phrases that are crucially distinguished here; each verb and nominal phrase, along with the particles dependent on it, is a

[256] Other possible examples include Isaiah 40:1 and 57:14.

[257] O'Connor, *HVS,* 68.

[258] O'Connor, *HVS,* 68.

constituent."[259] But what does O'Connor mean by "function together"? How do we differentiate between words that are functioning together and those that are functioning independently?

As I outlined in §2.3.2, according to current minimalist generative theory, "All phrases are formed by a process of **merger** whereby two categories are merged together to form a new (phrasal) category. The phrase which is thereby formed is … **endocentric** (i.e. headed), in that it is a **projection** of a **head** word."[260] When two words merge, a phrase is created; "Sentences are formed by successive merger operations."[261] A *maximal projection* is a constituent which is not contained within a larger constituent with the same head. I propose that *All heads that result in maximal projection within and including the verb phrase (and including the verb) are visible (i.e., overt, non-null) as constituents for poetic analysis.* Defining 'constituent' in this way provides syntactic criteria for discerning whether and how units "function together in the syntax."[262]

Defining constituency according to maximal projection necessitates a re-assessment of attached pronouns. Consider O'Connor's analysis of Ps 106:18b:[263]

(xxv) לֶהָבָה תְּלַהֵט רְשָׁעִים׃

lhbh	*tlhṭ*	*rš ʿym*
UNIT1	UNIT2	UNIT3
CONST1	CONST2	CONST3
Flame	set ablaze	the wicked

O'Connor reads this as a single independent verbal clause line of three constituents, with SVO word order. In Psalm 106:18b, the verb, subject, and object are all overt and each is a constituent. However, in many cases, the subject is not independently pronominalized, and therefore, O'Connor does not count the subject as a constituent.[264] O'Connor presents Psalm 106:43a as an

[259] O'Connor, *HVS,* 68.

[260] Radford, *Syntactic Theory and the Structure of English*, 88; emphasis original.

[261] Radford, *Syntactic Theory and the Structure of English,* 97.

[262] O'Connor, *HVS,* 68.

[263] O'Connor, *HVS,* 82, 282.

[264] O'Connor, *HVS,* 82.

example:[265]

(xxvi) פְּעָמִים רַבּוֹת יַצִּילֵם

pəʿāmîm	*rabbôt*	*yaṣṣîlēm*
UNIT1	UNIT2	UNIT3
Const1		Const2
AdvP		V
many-times		He-rescued-them

O'Connor reads this as a single independent verbal clause line of two constituents, with AV word order (i.e., an adverbial phrase followed by the verb). O'Connor does not count either the null subject or the attached pronominal object as constituents because they are not independently lexicalized (i.e., they are not independent overt words). Because Hebrew is a pro-drop language, not counting the subject is unproblematic; the subject can be recovered and processed by virtue of the agreement features on the verb.[266] However, not counting the attached pronoun is problematic because the object pronoun, which is necessary to complete the semantics of the verb "rescue," *is* morphologically realized. O'Connor provided no justification for not counting cliticized objects while at the same time counting free forms; if the pronoun had been manifested as the object marker אֵת with attached pronoun (אֹתָם), O'Connor would have counted it as both a unit and a constituent. There is no syntactic reason not to count a pronoun when it is attached to the verb itself. Therefore, my analysis of Psalm 106:43a differs from O'Connor's:

(xxvii) פְּעָמִים רַבּוֹת יַצִּילֵם

pəʿāmîm	*rabbôt*	*yaṣṣîlēm*
UNIT1	UNIT2	UNIT3
C1		C2 C3
ADVP		V + ATT PRO COMP
many-times		He-rescued-them

I read this as a single independent verbal clause line of 3 constituents and 3 units, whereas O'Connor reads it as a single independent verbal clause line of two constituents and 3 units.

---

[265] O'Connor, *HVS,* 82-83, 287.

[266] "*Pro-drop* is an abbreviation for 'pronoun dropping'. It describes a feature of some languages that do not require an overt argument, especially a subject, to be present in a clause" (Robert Holmstedt, *EHLL,* s.v. "Pro-Drop").

Finally, a note about modifiers. Items within restrictive modifiers are *not* counted as independent constituents because they are essential to identifying the constituent. For an example, please see §4.1.59. However, items within non-restrictive modifiers (e.g., non-restrictive appositives and non-restrictive relative clauses) *are* counted as constituents. For examples, please see §4.1.24 for a non-restrictive relative clause and §4.1.3 for a non-restrictive appositive. On a related note, items within a complement clause or secondary predication are *not* counted as constituent, only the clause or SP phrase is counted as a constituent (e.g., §4.1.45 for a complement clause; §4.1.42 for a SP phrase).

2.3.3.2 Constraint 2: Lines contain between two and five prosodic words

O'Connor found that Hebrew verses have between 2 and 5 units. O'Connor defines *unit* thus:

> The first and lowest [grammatical level in BH verse] refers to individual verbs and nouns; each of these, along with the particles dependent on it, is a *unit.* (We could have said lexical word or even real word, but such usage often creates confusion.)[267]

O'Connor wants to avoid the term *word* when defining unit, but the fact that he cannot escape the term is telling. David Crystal explains that "Words are physically definable units which one encounters in a stretch of writing (bounded by spaces) … 'Word' in this sense is often referred to as the orthographic word."[268] This definition of 'word' aligns with B. Elan Dresher's differentiation between orthographic and prosodic words in BH. Dresher refers to words in the consonantal text, devoid of almost all indications of vowels and punctuation, as "orthographic words."[269] When orthographic words are joined together by hyphens or cliticization to create a larger unit, they become "prosodic words."[270] In the Revised and Extended *HVS* model, I replace O'Connor's "unit" with Dresher's "prosodic word." The constraint now reads:

---

[267] O'Connor, *HVS,* 68.

[268] Crystal, *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics,* s.v. "word."

[269] B. Elan Dresher, "The word in Tiberian Hebrew," in *The Nature of the Word: Studies in Honor of Paul Kiparsky,* edited by Kristin Hanson and Sharon Inkelas (MIT Press, 2008), 95; B. E. Dresher, "The Prosodic Basis of the Tiberian Hebrew System of Accents," *Language* 70.1 (March 1994): 1-52.

[270] Dresher, "The Word in Tiberian Hebrew," 98.

> *2. Lines contain between two and five prosodic words.* Prosodic words are: i) unbound orthographic words that have at least one full syllable (CV, where V is not a *shewa*),[271] or ii) words joined together by cliticization.[272]

2.3.3.3 Constraints 4-6

O'Connor articulates his last three syntactic constraints on lines thus:

> *4. On the units of constituents.* No constituent contains more than four units. Constituents of four units occur only in lines with no clause predicator. Constituents of three units occur either alone in lines with no clause predicator; or as one of two constituents in 1-clause lines.
>
> *5. On the constituents of clauses.* No line of three clause predicators contains any dependent nominal phrases. In lines with two clause predicators, only one had dependent nominal phrases.
>
> *6. On the integrity of lines.* If a line contains one or more clause predicators, it contains only nominal phrases dependent on them.[273]

As I have stressed above, the constraints O'Connor laid out in *HVS* are descriptive in nature; O'Connor described the syntactic structure of a 1225 line corpus of early BH poetry. However, any scholar who wishes to apply O'Connor's approach in their own analysis of BH verse must use the constraints in a prescriptive manner. This creates a certain tension because the more specific the constraints are, the less likely they are to hold up in a larger corpus. Furthermore, O'Connor's corpus consists primarily of early and classical biblical poetry, but poetic conventions shift over time, increasing the likelihood that the six constraints may not prove accurate in LBH poetry. This is a weakness that Terence Collins also identified in his review of *HVS*:

> The vast majority of biblical poetry is contained in the book of Psalms, Job and the Prophets. O'Connor looks at just three Psalms, some untypical passages in the minor

---

[271] Dresher, "The Word in Tiberian Hebrew," 98. The question of what constitutes O'Connor's "unit" was raised in two articles by William Holladay, "Hebrew Verse Structure Revisited (I): Which Words 'Count'?", *Journal of Biblical Literature,* Vol. 118, No. 1 (1999): 19-32; "Hebrew Verse Structure Revisited (II): Conjoint Cola, and Further Suggestions", *Journal of Biblical Literature,* Vol. 118, No. 3 (1999): 401-416. The definition of prosodic word provided here resolves the ambiguities Holladay highlighted in these articles.

[272] In "The Word in Tiberian Hebrew," prosodic words include those by *maqqef.* In the Revised and Extended *HVS* Model, only words that are connected by cliticization are counted as prosodic words because *maqqef* is a Medieval addition to the biblical text.

[273] O'Connor, *HVS,* 87.

> prophets and nothing at all of Job. For the rest he concentrates on the fringe collection of poems scattered throughout the Pentateuch and the historical books … These reservations apart, however, the fact remains that this is a significant book … His description of the stich in terms of three overall constraints [i.e. constraints 1-3] provides a tool of permanent value for analysis and comparison. From my own observation, it is valid for the 4,000 plus stichs of the Psalms. I would expect it to remain valid when applied to Job and the Prophets, but that remains to be seen. At the same time I suspect that some of his minor constraints or "restrictions" [i.e. constraints 4-6] will eventually have to be reformulated.[274]

The fourth constraint may be descriptively accurate for O'Connor's corpus, and may also hold true for a larger corpus. However, it seems plausible to me that a single constituent consisting of four prosodic words *could* also occur in a line alongside a verb, which would bring the prosodic word count up to 5 and still remain within constraints 1-3. As it stands, I do not think the fourth constraint is a necessary component of BH verse convention, and therefore, I have eliminated it in the Revised and Extended *HVS* model.

Constraint 5 does not hold in a larger poetic corpus and creates some awkward lineation even within O'Connor's corpus. With regard to O'Connor's corpus, I have discussed Judges 5:12 in §2.1.1 (footnote 69), and outlined Kugel's comments on the verse in §2.2. A similar example is Judges 5:27, which I have represented in Table 7. O'Connor's lineation is in the left column,[275] and mine is on the right:

[274] Terence Collins, "*Hebrew Verse Structure.*" *Journal of Literary Semantics* 12/2 (1983): 95-96.

[275] O'Connor, *HVS,* 228-229.

Table 3. A Lineal Comparison of Judges 5:27

O'Connor's Syntactic Description		The Revised and Extended *HVS* Model	
27a	בֵּין רַגְלֶיהָ כָּרַע *bên–raglêhā kāraʿ* Between her legs he crouches	27a	בֵּין רַגְלֶיהָ כָּרַע נָפַל שָׁכֵב *bên raglêhā kāraʿ nāpal šākāb* Between her feet he crouches; he falls, he lies prone.
27b	נָפַל שָׁכֵב *nāpal šākāb* He falls. He lies prone.		
27c	בֵּין רַגְלֶיהָ כָּרַע נָפָל *bên–raglêhā kāraʿ nāpal* Between her legs he crouches. He falls.	27b	בֵּין רַגְלֶיהָ כָּרַע נָפָל *bên raglêhā kāraʿ nāpal* Between her legs he crouches. He falls.
27d	בַּאֲשֶׁר כָּרַע *baʾăšer kāraʿ* In that place he crouches.	27c	בַּאֲשֶׁר כָּרַע שָׁם נָפַל שָׁדוּד׃ *baʾăšer kāraʿ šām nāpal šādûd* In that place he crouches; there the oppressed one falls.
27e	שָׁם נָפַל שָׁדוּד׃ *šām nāpal šādûd* There the oppressed one falls.		

In Judges 5:27, O'Connor breaks בין רגליה כרע נפל שכב into two lines (27ab), and yet reads בין רגליה כרע נפל as one line (27c). If בין רגליה כרע נפל is a syntactic unit in 27c, it seems counterintuitive to view בין רגליה כרע נפל שכב as two lines because of the presence of an additional verb. O'Connor's constraints allow for a maximum of 5 units and 4 constituents, and it is clear from his transliteration (the dash between *bên* and *raglêhā*) that he views *bên–raglêhā* as a single constituent and a single unit,[276] so the constraints as O'Connor articulated them allow for his *a* and *b* lines to be combined. My lineation keeps the first three verbs of the verse together, evoking both the rapidity of Sisera's death and drawing out the syntactic similarity between the *a* and *b* lines. My lineation also draws out the lexical repetition in the verse, with both כרע and נפל present in each of the three lines.

[276] "Diacritics here are used to reflect our text parsing. All emphatic particles not recognized in the Massoretic Text are set off by a hyphen, as are all particles recognized there and treated as words. Hyphens also connect nomina in the same nominal phrase; they only coincidentally reproduce *maqqep*'s, the 'dashes' of the Massoretes. Phrases connected by hyphens correspond to constituents. Items that stand alone or, with the exception of particles, are linked by hyphens correspond to units; with one exception, this matches the Massoretes' treatment. The exception is the relative pronoun š, the only nomen always bound in the MT to what follows it; it here stands alone when it serves as a nomen, though not when it is used as a conjunction" (O'Connor, *HVS,* 168).

Isaiah 52:11 is an example outside of O'Connor's corpus that defies his fifth constraint:

(xxviii) סָ֣רוּ סֹ֔רוּ צְא֖וּ מִשָּׁ֑ם
Depart! Depart! Go out from there!

This line has three verbs and a dependent PP, which defies O'Connor's finding that no line of three clause predicators contains any dependent nominal phrases. Because of these examples and others that are sure to be unearthed as syntactic analysis extends to a larger corpus of BH poetry, I have eliminated O'Connor's fifth constraint in the Revised and Extended *HVS* model.

Finally, O'Connor's sixth constraint cannot hold once exclamatives and vocatives are no longer understood as clause predicators. Any line that has both a verb and a vocative will by necessity have a non-dependent nominal phrase because vocatives are not dependent on their host sentence. Therefore, the Revised and Extended *HVS* model does not include O'Connor's sixth constraint.

2.3.3.4 Line Constraints in the Revised and Extended *HVS* Model

The Revised and Extended *HVS* model reduces the number of line constraints from 6 to 2. O'Connor's first and second constraints are revised and combined into one, and his fourth, fifth, and sixth constraint are eliminated. The two constraints now read:

> *1. Lines contain between 1 and 4 phonologically expressed constituents.* All heads that result in maximal projection within and including the verb phrase (and including the verb) are visible (i.e., overt, non-null) as constituents for poetic analysis.
>
> *2. Lines contain between two and five prosodic words.* Prosodic words are: i) unbound orthographic words that have at least one full syllable (CV, where V is not a *shewa*), or ii) orthographic words joined together by cliticization.

With these revisions to the lineal constraints in place, we turn now to interlineal relationships and the appositive style of BH poetry.

2.3.4 Replacing O'Connor's Poetic "Tropes": The Appositive Style of BH Poetry

In "Hebrew Poetry and the Appositive Style: Parallelism, *Requiescat in pace,*" Robert Holmstedt suggests that one of the reasons O'Connor's Syntactic Description has not replaced the Standard Description of BH poetry is that "O'Connor's model was more compelling for the structure of the poetic line than for the relationship of lines."[277] O'Connor's approach to the relationship between the lines is less grounded in syntax, and as a result, less compelling. Holmstedt explains:

> O'Connor identified six "parallelistic" syntactic relations, what he called "tropes," that occur regularly in Hebrew verse (1980 [1997]: 87-132): repetition (on the word level), coloration (word-level), gapping (line-level), matching (line-level), mixing (supralinear-level), and dependency (supralinear-level). What is deeply surprising about these "tropes" in O'Connor's otherwise brilliant work is that of the six, only two, *gapping* and *dependency,* are recognized syntactic phenomena.[278]

Holmstedt goes on to argue that *repetition*, *coloration*, and *matching* are better understood syntactically as types of apposition. Hebraists are accustomed to thinking of apposition as "The modification of one phrase (NP_1) by a second noun phrase (NP_2), without any morphological or syntactic signal such as cliticization (i.e, the so-called construct state), and such that the two NPs could be reformulated into a well-formed equative predication (i.e., NP_1 *is* NP_2)."[279] However, in "Apposition in Biblical Hebrew: Structure and Function," Holmstedt and Jones demonstrate that apposition in BH is a more complex grammatical phenomenon than commonly thought.[280] In what follows, I provide a summary of their article's findings that are salient to a syntactic analysis of interlineal relationships in BH verse.

Apposition is a modification strategy that requires a minimum of two constituents. The first constituent is the *anchor,* while the second constituent is the *appositive*. Holmstedt explains:

> Appositions fall into two general categories, which have both syntactic and semantic implications: restrictive (or attributive) apposition and non-restrictive apposition. Syntactically, the difference between restrictive and nonrestrictive apposition concerns

---

[277] Robert Holmstedt, "Hebrew Poetry and the Appositive Style: Parallelism, *Requiescat in pace*" *Vetus Testamentum* 69 (2019): 617.

[278] Holmstedt, "Hebrew Poetry and the Appositive Style," 622, n. 11.

[279] Robert Holmstedt and Andrew Jones, "Apposition in Biblical Hebrew: Structure and Function," *KUSATU* 22 (2017): 21.

[280] Holmstedt and Jones, "Apposition," 21.

> the appositive's position with regard to its anchor. A restrictive appositive is situated somewhere *within* the phrase structure of the anchor, similar to other attributive modifiers, such as adjectives. An apposition positioned phrase-internally produces restrictive semantics, such that the appositive critically participates in the correct identification of the anchor … A restrictive appositive cannot be removed without interfering with the semantic processing of the anchor.[281]

Holmstedt provides the following example of restrictive apposition, in which the anchor is indicated by single underlining and the appositive by double underlining:[282]

(xxix) וַיִּוָּלֶד נֹחַ שְׁלֹשָׁה בָנִים אֶת־שֵׁם אֶת־חָם וְאֶת־יָפֶת׃
'and Noah begat three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japheth' (Gen 6:10)

In this case, the appositive cannot be removed without interfering with the semantic processing of the anchor, and is therefore an example of restrictive apposition. In restrictive apposition, "[T]he anchor alone does not make the intended referent identifiable; the appositive is needed to make the referent specific and identifiable."[283] Holmstedt notes that "Restrictive apposition in BH is both highly constrained and frequently used. It seems constrained almost entirely to number phrases: the most common manifestation exhibits a free-form numeral as the anchor and a NP as the appositive,"[284] as in example (xxix) above.

While the appositive is necessary for the semantic processing of the anchor in restrictive apposition, in non-restrictive apposition, "[I]t is the anchor alone that makes the particular referent specific and identifiable."[285] Holmstedt explains,

> Nonrestrictive apposition does not define the particular referent of the anchor. A simple test for nonrestrictive apposition is whether, in any given example, either the anchor or the appositive can be omitted without affecting the identification of the reference (see Huddleston & Pullam 2002: 447). Syntactically, nonrestrictive apposition is a type of nonsubordination that is parallel and similar to coordination; as such the appositive is adjoined to the highest phrase structure level of the anchor. The nonrestrictive semantics accord with nonsubordinate syntax: a nonrestrictive appositive does not provide

[281] Holmstedt, "Hebrew Poetry and the Appositive Style," 624.

[282] Holmstedt, "Hebrew Poetry and the Appositive Style," 624.

[283] Holmstedt and Jones, "Apposition," 27.

[284] Holmstedt, "Hebrew Poetry and the Appositive Style," 624.

[285] Holmstedt and Jones, "Apposition," 27.

> information critical to the identification of its anchor; rather, *it provides an additional or alternative description of the anchor.*[286]

While apposition is typically considered a structure for modifying or reformulating noun phrases (as in the common definition above[287] and example xxx below), there are also clear examples of apposition involving other types of phrases. Consider the following examples of nonrestrictive apposition:[288]

(xxx) וַעֲשֵׂה־חֶסֶד עִם אֲדֹנִי אַבְרָהָם׃
'and show faithfulness to my lord Abraham' (Gen 24:12)

(xxxi) וְעַתָּה הִתְעָרֵב נָא אֶת־אֲדֹנִי אֶת־מֶלֶךְ אַשּׁוּר
'and now make a wager with my lord, with the king of Assyria' (2 Kgs 18:23)

As Holmstedt explains, "In [the example from Gen 24:12] the nonrestrictive appositive is the NP אַבְרָהָם, which names the referent indicated by the phrase אֲדֹנִי; in contrast, the appositive in [the example in 2 Kgs 18:23] is the PP אֶת־מֶלֶךְ אַשּׁוּר, which is clearly related to the preceding PP אֶת־אֲדֹנִי. Critically, the presence of PP apposition in examples like [2 Kings 18:23] establish that apposition in BH was not limited to NPs, but was open to other types of phrases."[289] Holmstedt goes on to provide examples of verb phrases (VPs) and even entire clauses (CPs) in appositive relationships.[290]

A final point regarding NP, PP, VP, and CP apposition that is crucial for analyzing apposition in BH verse is the role of stacking and extraposition. The anchor and the appositive need not appear side-by-side; the appositive can be *extraposed* (i.e., not immediately adjacent to their anchors) or *stacked* (wherein a number of appositives come one after another with no non-appositive

---

[286] Holmstedt, "Hebrew Poetry and the Appositive Style," 624-625 (emphasis added).

[287] "The modification of one phrase (NP_1) by a second noun phrase (NP_2), without any morphological or syntactic signal such as cliticization (i.e., the so-called construct state), and such that the two NPs could be reformulated into a well-formed equative predication (i.e., NP_1 *is* NP_2)" (Holmstedt and Jones, "Apposition," 21).

[288] These examples are taken from Holmstedt, "Hebrew Poetry and the Appositive Style," 627-628.

[289] Holmstedt, "Hebrew Poetry and the Appositive Style," 628.

[290] Holmstedt, "Hebrew Poetry and the Appositive Style," 628-630. I have not reproduced Holmstedt's examples of VP and CP apposition because his article is readily available. I accept his evidence of VP and CP apposition and provide additional examples in my analyses in chapters 3 and 4.

constituent in between). This is prevalent in BH poetry, where one anchor may have numerous appositives. Take, for example, Holmstedt's analysis of Psalm 23 in Table 4.

Table 4. Holmstedt's Analysis of the Interlineal Syntax in Psalm 23[291]

מִזְמ֗וֹר לְדָוִ֫ד	1a	Title	A Psalm of David.
יְהוָ֥ה רֹ֝עִ֗י	1b	**Non-App** (initial image) – *image #1*	Yhwh is my shepherd:
לֹ֣א אֶחְסָֽר׃	1c	**App** (clausal, to 1b) – *exemplification*	*which means*, I do not lack;
בִּנְא֣וֹת דֶּ֭שֶׁא יַרְבִּיצֵ֑נִי	2a	**App** (clausal, to 1b) – *exemplification*	*or* in green pastures he makes me to lie down;
עַל־מֵ֖י מְנֻח֣וֹת יְנַהֲלֵֽנִי׃	2b	**App** (clausal, to 1b) – *exemplification*	*or* beside still waters he leads me;
נַפְשִׁ֥י יְשׁוֹבֵ֑ב	3a	**App** (clausal, to 1b) – *exemplification*	*or* my soul he restores;
יַ֝נְחֵ֗נִי בְּמַעְגְּלֵי־צֶ֥דֶק לְמַ֥עַן שְׁמֽוֹ׃	3b	**App** (clausal, to 1b) – *exemplification*	*or* he guides me in right paths for the sake of his name;
גַּם כִּי־אֵלֵ֣ךְ בְּגֵ֣יא צַלְמָ֑וֶת	4a	**App** (clausal, to 1b) – *exemplification*	*or* even if I walked through the valley of the shadow of death,
לֹא־אִ֥ירָ֝א רָ֗ע	4b	**Non-App** (enjambment/main clause to 4a)	I would not fear evil;
כִּי־אַתָּ֥ה עִמָּדִ֑י	4c	**App** (clausal, to 1b) – *exemplification*	*or* because you are with me,
שִׁבְטְךָ֖ וּמִשְׁעַנְתֶּ֣ךָ הֵ֭מָּה יְנַחֲמֻֽנִי׃	4d	**Non-App** (enjambment/main clause to 4c)	your rod and your staff – they comfort me;
תַּעֲרֹ֣ךְ לְפָנַ֣י ׀ שֻׁלְחָ֗ן נֶ֣גֶד צֹרְרָ֑י	5a	**App** (clausal, to 1b) – *exemplification*	*or* you prepare before me a table before my enemies;
דִּשַּׁ֖נְתָּ בַּשֶּׁ֣מֶן רֹאשִׁ֑י	5b	**App** (clausal, to 1b) – *exemplification*	*or* you have anointed with oil my head;
כּוֹסִ֖י רְוָיָֽה׃	5c	**App** (clausal, to 1b) – *exemplification*	*or* my cup runs over;
אַךְ ׀ טוֹב֣ וָ֭חֶסֶד יִרְדְּפ֣וּנִי	6a	**App** (clausal, to 1b) – *exemplification*	*or* surely goodness and lovingkindness shall pursue me
כָּל־יְמֵ֣י חַיָּ֑י	6b	**Non-App** (enjambment to 6a)	all the days of my life;
וְשַׁבְתִּ֥י בְּבֵית־יְ֝הוָ֗ה	6c	**App** (clausal, to 1b) – *exemplification*	*or* I shall return into the house of Yhwh
לְאֹ֣רֶךְ יָמִֽים׃	6d	**Non-App (**enjambment to 6c)	for the length of (my) days.

[291] Holmstedt, "Hebrew Poetry and the Appositive Style," 639.

In Psalm 23, line 1b serves as the anchor clause for numerous stacked clausal appositives (1c-4a). Lines 4c and 5a are *extraposed* clausal appositives because 4b and 4d are non-appositive lines. In this poem, the clausal appositives provide examples of ways in which Yhwh is the psalmist's shepherd, and nearly every line in Psalm 23 illustrates this primary image.

Understanding the appositional relationship between clauses provides a syntactic explanation of interlineal syntax that was absent in O'Connor's approach. Because apposition is a *reformulating* strategy, Holmstedt argues that the relationship between lines of poetry "Can be fully accounted for syntactically by the binary choice of apposition : non-apposition":[292]

> We might imagine that, after artfully devising a poetic line, the Hebrew poet is constrained by the poetic convention to proceed in one of two ways, either by pausing to elaborate, refine, or reformulate the image introduced in the first line (= apposition), or by moving on with the addition of new features about the current image or a transition to a subsequent image (= non-apposition) … Once the poet has determined that the image is sufficiently elaborate, he moves to the next image by non-appositional syntactic means.[293]

Holmstedt's account of the appositive style of BH poetry is a syntactic description of characteristics of interlineal syntax that have been observed for centuries.[294] Holmstedt demonstrates his approach to interlineal syntax by analyzing Psalms 23 and 1, which I reproduced in my Tables 4 (above) and 6 (below). There are two aspects of Holmstedt's approach on which I would like to build. First, what is an image? Second, what are the main semantic categories of apposition?

2.3.4.1 Poetic Imagery

Holmstedt's approach to interlineal syntax requires the reader to identify images evoked by the Hebrew text. While *image* and *imagery* are terms that frequently arise in discussions of poetry,

---

[292] Holmstedt, "Hebrew Poetry and the Appositive Style," 630.

[293] Holmstedt, "Hebrew Poetry and the Appositive Style," 630-631.

[294] Consider Lowth's description of BH poetry: "This is chiefly observable in those passages, which frequently occur in the Hebrew poetry, in which they treat one subject in many different ways, and dwell upon the same sentiment; when they express the same thing in different words, or different things in a similar form of words; when equals refer to equals, and opposites to opposites: and since this artifice of composition seldom fails to produce even in prose an agreeable and measured cadence, we can scarcely doubt that it must have imparted to their poetry, were we masters of the versification, an exquisite degree of beauty and grace" (Lowth, *Lectures,* 46).

there is no universally accepted definition of these terms. W. J. T. Mitchell and B. Glavey go so far as to say, "*Image* and *imagery* are among the most widely used and poorly understood terms in poetic theory, occurring in so many different contexts that it may well be impossible to provide any rational, systematic account of their usage."[295] According to Ray Frazer, the consideration of imagery as a category in literary theory and practice began with early modern literary criticism in the 16th and 17th centuries; the term that preceded *image* in both theological and literary discourse was "figure."[296] While a history of the use of the term *image* in literary criticism is beyond the purview of this thesis (and some scholars have argued we ought to retire the term altogether),[297] I will define the term as it is used in the Revised and Extended *HVS* model.

In 1981, Ned Block argued that "imagery [was] one of the hottest topics in cognitive science", and that the central "problem arising from experiments on imagery and from introspection" was that brain scientists have not found "pictures" in the brain.[298] Scientific experimentation has established that pictures cannot be located in the brain, but nevertheless, people intuitively understand that internal pictures somehow exist because of our ability to visualize. It is in this context that Block asserts that two ways of interpreting this phenomenon have arisen:

> One side, the pictorialist side, takes the naive response to the experimental and introspective evidence to lead us in the right direction. The pictorialists agree that we

---

[295] W. J. T. Mitchell and B. Glavey, "Image" in *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics: Fourth edition,* edited by Stephen Cushman et. al., (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 660-662. Ray Frazer expresses a similar sentiment: "'Image' is one of the most common – and ambiguous – terms in modern literary criticism" (Ray Frazer, "The Origin of the Term 'Image'", *English Literary History* Vol 27 No 2 [June 1960]: 149). W. J. T. Mitchell writes, "The question of the nature of imagery has been second only to the problem of language in the evolution of modern criticism" (W. J. T. Mitchell, *Iconology: Image, Text, Ideology* [Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1986], 8).

[296] Mitchell and Glavey, *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics,* 4th ed., s.v. "Imagery." According to Pierre Legouis, the *Oxford English Dictionary* records no instances of the term *image* earlier than Puttenham's *Arte of English Poesie,* which was published in 1589 (Pierre Legouis, "Definitions and Caveats" in *Seventeenth-Century Imagery: Essays on Uses of Figurative Language from Donne to Farquhar,* ed. Earl Miner [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971], 187-197). For an in-depth treatment of *image,* see P. N. Furbank, *Reflections on the Word 'Image'* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1970). For the history of the term *figura,* see Erich Auerbach, "Figura," in *Scenes from the Drama of European Literature: Six Essays* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), 11-76.

[297] Mitchell and Glavey, *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics,* 4th ed., s.v. "Imagery."

[298] Ned Block, "Introduction: What is the Issue?" in *Imagery,* edited by Ned Block (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1981), 1-3.

> don't literally have pictures in our brains, but they insist nevertheless that our mental images represent in roughly the way that pictures represent. The other side, the descriptionalist side, regards the introspective and experimental evidence mentioned as misleading. On their view we should think of mental images as representing in the manner of some non-imagistic representations–namely, in the manner of language rather than pictures … Both the pictorialists and the descriptionalists agree that there are mental representations, but the descriptionalists think that all mental representations are descriptional, while the pictorialists think that at least some mental representations, mental images, are pictorial.[299]

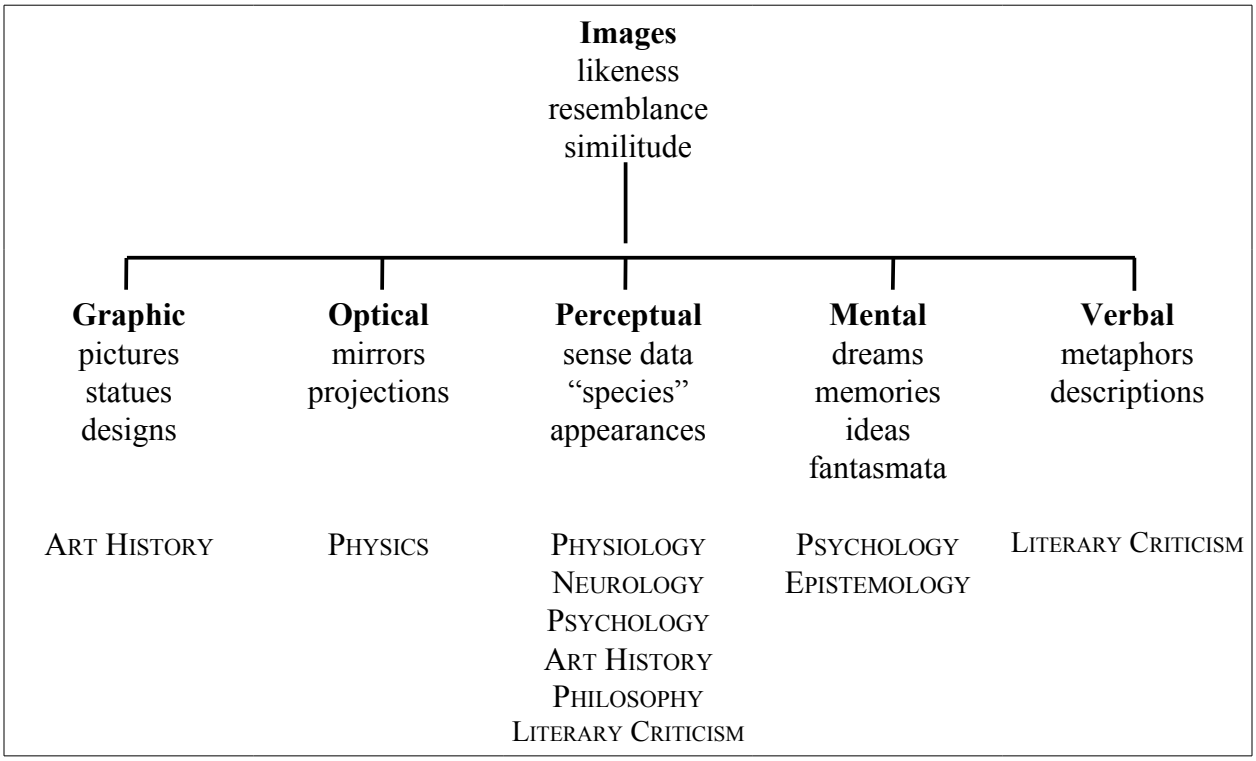
"Imagery" is hard to define in part because our perception of imagery is multi-faceted. We may talk about an image in a poem, but we may also talk about image in a painting. We may discuss the perception of imagery in the mind, moving the discussion from the humanities to the sciences. Because imagery is multi-faceted, Mitchell suggests that rather than attempting to come up with one universal definition, "It might be better to begin by thinking of images as a far-flung family which has migrated in time and space and undergone profound mutations in the process."[300] To that end, Mitchell constructs a family tree, which I have reproduced in Table 5:[301]

[299] Block, "Introduction," 2-3.

[300] Mitchell, *Iconology*, 9.

[301] Mitchell, *Iconology,* 10.

Table 5. Mitchell's Imagery "Family Tree"



Mitchell's family tree illustrates that while "likeness," "resemblance," and "similitude" are at the heart of the concept of "image," how we think about images depends on the field of the investigator, and so a universally accepted definition is not possible.

> Mental imagery belongs to psychology and epistemology; optical imagery to physics; graphic, sculptural, and architectural imagery to the art historian; verbal imagery to the literary critic; perceptual images occupy a kind of border region where physiologists, psychologists, art historians, and students of optics find themselves collaborating with philosophers and literary critics.[302]

As a student of language and texts, I am primarily interested in the verbal use of images, and the use of images in BH poetry in particular. Therefore, for the purposes of the Revised and Extended *HVS* model, I will adopt M. H. Abrams' definition of *imagery*:

> "Imagery" (that is, "images" taken collectively) is used to signify all the objects and qualities of sense perception referred to in a poem or other work of literature, whether by literal description, by allusion, or in the vehicles (the secondary references) of its similes and metaphors.[303]

---

[302] Mitchell, *Iconology*, 10.

[303] M. H. Abrams, *A Glossary of Literary Terms* 7th ed. (Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace College Publishers, 1999), s.v. "Imagery."

Abrams' definition of *imagery* is compatible with Holmstedt's use of the term: "Note that I tentatively use 'image' to represent the major stages of the poem's progression, however it develops."[304] Holmstedt's analyses of Psalms 23 and 1 allow us to get a better grasp of how the appositive style of BH poetry uses and develops images.

In Psalm 23, Holmstedt identifies "Yhwh is my shepherd" (1b) as image #1 (see Table 4 above). Nearly every line in the poem is in apposition to that image, providing examples of the ways in which the psalmist experiences Yhwh as his shepherd. Psalm 1 is similar, although slightly more complex (reproduced in Table 6 below).[305] The first image is that of the happy man who does not walk in the counsel of the wicked (1a, b). This image is developed with appositives of reformulation (1c, d, 2a) and exemplification (2b). The psalmist introduces a new image in 3a when he states that the happy man is "like a tree" (כְּעֵץ). This image of a tree presents us with an interpretive decision: should the tree be labelled image 2, or image 1'? Holmstedt labels it 1' . The psalmist uses the tree as a metaphor for the man; the primary referent has not changed.

By contrast, a new referent is introduced in 4a: "the wicked" (הָרְשָׁעִים). In verse 4b, the chaff is used as a metaphor for the transience of the wicked (as opposed to the enduring health of the righteous man, depicted as a verdant tree in v. 3). Line 4b reformulates the assertion that the righteous and the wicked are not alike.

Line 5a introduces the image of the wicked enduring "judgment." Holmstedt labels this image 2'. The primary referent remains "the wicked", but the referent is placed in a judicial rather than an agricultural setting. Line 5b reformulates the assertion in 5a that the wicked shall not stand in the judgment. Line 6a is a non-appositional, enjambed line that provides the motive for excluding sinners in the congregation of the righteous. Holmstedt labels 6a ("because Yhwh knows the path of the righteous") as image 2". At first glance, it may appear that 6a should be labelled as image 3, because "Yhwh" is the subject of the line. However, the clause in 6a is subordinate to the main clause in 5a, in which "the wicked" remains the referent of the imagery. As a result, it is more appropriate to label the image of Yhwh knowing the path of the righteous in 6a as image 2".

---

[304] Holmstedt, "Hebrew Poetry and the Appositive Style," n. 29 on page 13.

[305] Holmstedt, "Hebrew Poetry and the Appositive Style," 637.

A close reading of Holmstedt's interlineal analysis and use of the term "image" indicates that the *primary referent* of any given image dictates how the image is categorized. If new images are used as metaphors for the same referent, they should be labelled with the same number (image # ', # " , # "' , etc.). New images "represent the major stages of the poem's progression,"[306] and when the referent of image changes, it is assigned a new number.

The Revised and Extended *HVS* model analyzes interlineal relationships according to BH poetry's "appositive style" in which images are developed through either apposition or non-apposition. Appositives can reformulate their anchors in several different ways, and so it is to the semantic categories of apposition that we now turn.

[306] Holmstedt, "Hebrew Poetry and the Appositive Style," p. 631 n. 29.

Table 6. Holmstedt's Analysis of the Interlineal Syntax of Psalm 1

אַשְׁרֵי־הָאִישׁ	1a	**Non-App** (initial image) – *image #1*	Happy is the man
אֲשֶׁר ׀ לֹא הָלַךְ֣ בַּעֲצַ֣ת רְשָׁעִ֑ים	1b	**Non-App** (enjambment, relative)	who does not walk in the counsel of wicked,
וּבְדֶ֥רֶךְ חַטָּאִ֗ים לֹ֣א עָ֑מָד	1c	**App** (clausal, to 1b) – *reformulating*	*that is,* he does not stand on the path of sinners,
וּבְמוֹשַׁ֥ב לֵ֝צִ֗ים לֹ֣א יָשָֽׁב׃	1d	**App** (clausal, to 1c) – *reformulating*	*that is,* he does not sit in the seat of mockers,
כִּ֤י אִם־בְּתוֹרַ֣ת יְ֭הוָה חֶפְצ֑וֹ	2a	**App** (clausal, to 1d) – *reformulating (reverse polarity)*	but in the teaching of Yhwh is his delight,
וּבְתוֹרָתוֹ֥ יֶהְגֶּ֗ה יוֹמָ֥ם וָלָֽיְלָה׃	2b	**App** (clausal, to 2a) – *exemplifying*	*for example,* on his teaching he mutters day and night;
וְהָיָ֤ה כְּעֵ֨ץ׀ שָׁת֬וּל עַל־פַּלְגֵ֗י מָ֑יִם	3a	**Non-App** (non-contrastive image) – *image #1′*	he is like a tree planted by streams of water,
אֲשֶׁ֤ר פִּרְי֨וֹ ׀ יִתֵּ֬ן בְּעִתּ֗וֹ	3b	**Non-App** (enjambment, relative)	which gives its fruit in its season,
וְעָלֵ֥הוּ לֹא־יִבּ֑וֹל	3c	**App** (clausal, to 3b) – *reformulating*	*that is,* its foliage does not fail,
וְכֹ֖ל אֲשֶׁר־יַעֲשֶׂ֣ה יַצְלִֽיחַ׃	3d	**App** (clausal, to 3c) – *reformulating*	*that is to say,* all that he does he causes to prosper.
לֹא־כֵ֥ן הָרְשָׁעִ֑ים	4a	**Non-App** (contrastive image) – *new image #2*	Not so are the wicked,
כִּ֥י אִם־כַּ֝מֹּ֗ץ אֲשֶׁר־תִּדְּפֶ֥נּוּ רֽוּחַ׃	4b	**App** (clausal, to 4a) – *reformulating (reverse polarity)*	but (they are) like the chaff that the wind drives away.
עַל־כֵּ֤ן ׀ לֹא־יָקֻ֣מוּ רְ֭שָׁעִים בַּמִּשְׁפָּ֑ט	5a	**Non-App** (non-contrastive image) – *image #2′*	As a result, the wicked will not stand in judgment,
וְ֝חַטָּאִ֗ים בַּעֲדַ֥ת צַדִּיקִֽים׃	5b	**App** (clausal, to 5a; ellipsis) – *reformulating*	*that is,* sinners (will not stand) in the congregation of the righteous,
כִּֽי־יוֹדֵ֣עַ יְ֭הוָה דֶּ֣רֶךְ צַדִּיקִ֑ים	6a	**Non-App** (enjambment, motive) – *image #2″*	because Yhwh knows the path of the righteous,
וְדֶ֖רֶךְ רְשָׁעִ֣ים תֹּאבֵֽד׃	6b	**App** (clausal, to 6a) – *reformulating (reverse polarity)*	*that is to say,* the path of the wicked will perish.

2.3.4.2 Semantic Categories of Apposition

According to Holmstedt and Jones, BH grammarians have focused on the lexical information represented by the appositive (e.g., genus, material, quality, or quantity) rather than the semantics of the relationship between the anchor and the appositive (i.e., how the appositive modifies its anchor).[307] In the Revised and Extended *HVS* model, the relationship between an anchor and its appositive(s) is of critical importance.

The semantics of restrictive apposition are straightforward, because "the appositive specifies and identifies the particular referent of the anchor."[308] In contrast, non-restrictive apposition performs a variety of semantic functions. Quirk *et al*. provide the following semantic categories:[309]

Semantic Types of non-restrictive appositions

Category	**Gloss**
A. Equivalence	'or'
(i) appellation:	'that is'
(ii) identification:	'namely'
(iii) designation:	'that is to say'
(iv) reformulation:	'in other words'
B. Attribution [specification]	'being' *or* 'as you know'
C. Inclusion	
(i) exemplification:	'for example'
(ii) particularization:	'especially'

Holmstedt and Jones provide descriptions of each of Quirk *et al.*'s semantic types illustrated with BH examples. Because most of the examples Holmstedt and Jones provide are from prose texts,[310] I will illustrate Quirk *et al.*'s categories with examples from BH poetic texts.

---

[307] Holmstedt and Jones, "Apposition in Biblical Hebrew," 31.

[308] Holmstedt and Jones, "Apposition in Biblical Hebrew," 31.

[309] My presentation of these categories follows Holmstedt and Jones, "Apposition in Biblical Hebrew," 32. The categories themselves are in Randolph Quirk *et al*., *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language* (London: Longman, 1985), 1308-1316.

[310] Holmstedt and Jones, "Apposition in Biblical Hebrew," 32-40.

2.3.4.2.1 Equivalence

"Appositives in an equivalence relationship allow the assertion of *that is (to say)* and, less commonly, of *in other words.*"[311] Quirk *et al.* identify four types of appositives of equivalence: appellation, identification, designation, and reformulation.[312]

2.3.4.2.1.1 Equivalence: Appellation

Appellation is a naming relation in which both the anchor and the appositive are definite, and the appositive is usually a proper noun.[313] In appellation apposition, the appositive is more specific than the anchor.

(xxxii) הַס מִפְּנֵי אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה
Silence before [the] Lord Yhwh! (Zeph 1:7)

In this example, אדני is the anchor and יהוה is the appositive; the appositive יהוה is more specific than the anchor, אדני. In English, *that is (to say)* may be used with appellative appositives: "Silence before [the] Lord, *that is (to say)* Yhwh!"

Holmstedt and Jones argue that "Appellation, especially in the cases with a definite NP like המלך, may also be a more specialized title formula, similar to 'King Jehoash,' [המלך יהואש in 2 Kings 12:8] in which the anchor is capitalized when written."[314]

2.3.4.2.1.2 Equivalence: Identification

Identification is a naming relation in which the anchor is typically (but not always) an indefinite noun phrase, and the appositive is more specific than the anchor.[315] "Note that in these constructions it is possible for an indefinite anchor to be paired with a definite appositive [as in

---

[311] Quirk *et al.*, *Comprehensive Grammar,* 1308.

[312] Quirk *et al.*, *Comprehensive Grammar,* 1309.

[313] Quirk *et al.*, *Comprehensive Grammar,* 1309; cf. Holmstedt and Jones, "Apposition in Biblical Hebrew," 32.

[314] Holmstedt and Jones, "Apposition in Biblical Hebrew," 33.

[315] Quirk *et al.*, *Comprehensive Grammar,* 1309.

example (xxxiii) below], which contradicts Waltke and O'Connor's claim about apposition that 'all its parts agree in definiteness and reference (1990: 227).'"[316]

(xxxiii) סְבָבוּנִי פָּרִים רַבִּים אַבִּירֵי בָשָׁן כִּתְּרוּנִי׃
Many bulls surround me, / the mighty ones of Bashan encircle me! (Ps 22:12)

(xxxiv) יְהוָה בְּאַפּוֹ יְבַלְּעֵם וְתֹאכְלֵם אֵשׁ׃
Yhwh in his anger swallowed them; He consumed them [with] fire (Ps 21:10)

In (xxxiii), the indefinite NP פרים רבים is the anchor, and the definite NP אבירי בשן is the appositive. This appositive identifies "many bulls" as "the mighty ones of Bashan." In (xxxiv), the first VP is the anchor, and the second VP is its appositive. The appositive VP is more specific than its anchor, specifying the instrument with which Yhwh destroyed his foes.

2.3.4.2.1.3 Equivalence: Designation

In appositional designation, the anchor is *more specific* than the appositive, although both anchor and appositive may be definite noun phrases. In appositives of designation, *namely* can be inserted. In Zeph 21:10b, both מלך ישׂראל and יהוה are definite, but the appositive יהוה is more specific than its anchor, מלך ישׂראל:

(xxxv) מֶלֶךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל | יְהוָה בְּקִרְבֵּךְ
The king of Israel, *namely* Yhwh, is in your midst! (Zeph 3:15c)

2.3.4.2.1.4 Equivalence: Reformulation

In appositional reformulation, the appositive rewords the lexical content of the anchor. The reformulation can be either positive or negative, as exemplified in Ps 22:7:[317]

(xxxvi) וְאָנֹכִי תוֹלַעַת וְלֹא־אִישׁ
חֶרְפַּת אָדָם וּבְזוּי עָם׃

[316] Holmstedt and Jones, "Apposition in Biblical Hebrew," 33.

[317] "Reformulation can also be negative, i.e. the modifying appositive is not a synonymous expression: e.g. You should have consulted an ophthalmologist, not *(that is)* an optician, for your eyes" (Quirk *et al*., *Comprehensive Grammar,* 1312).

But I am a worm *in other words,* not a man; /
an object of reproach amongst human[s], *in other words,* despised by people (Ps 22:7)

In the first line, the NP תולעת is the anchor, and the NP ולא־איש is the appositive. This appositive features negative reformulation in that the poet states his creatureliness (I am a worm) by denying his humanity (not a man). The second line features a positive reformulation (even though the semantics of the utterance is not positive): the anchor phrase חרפת אדם is reformulated by its appositive ובזוי עם. Both the anchor and appositive in the second line state the poet's status as reviled in positive indicative statements.

2.3.4.2.2 Attribution

"In an apposition of attribution, the appositive is not equivalent to the anchor; instead, it modifies or describes it."[318] As a result, "[T]he equivalence indicators *that is (to say)* and *in other words* are not admitted."[319]

(xxxvii) יְחַלְּקוּ בְגָדַי לָהֶם וְעַל־לְבוּשִׁי יַפִּילוּ גוֹרָל
They divided my garments among them; /
They cast lots for my clothing. (Ps 22:18)

In example (xxxvii), the two lines are not equivalent because the appositive line describes the manner by which the garments were divided (i.e., by lot), thereby modifying the anchor line "they divided my garments among them."

Holmstedt and Jones explain, "Some appositions of attribution have an intensifying function. The appositive alters the sense of the anchor by strengthening it, qualitatively or quantitatively."[320] Psalm 29:5 serves as an example:

---

[318] Holmstedt and Jones, "Apposition in Biblical Hebrew," 35.

[319] Quirk *et al*., *Comprehensive Grammar,* 1313.

[320] Holmstedt and Jones, "Apposition in Biblical Hebrew," 36-37.

(xxxviii) קוֹל יְהוָה שֹׁבֵר אֲרָזִים וַיְשַׁבֵּר יְהוָה אֶת־אַרְזֵי הַלְּבָנוֹן׃
The voice of Yhwh breaks cedars;
Yhwh shatters the cedars of Lebanon. (Ps 29:5)

In example (xxxviii), the appositive line strengthens the sense of the anchor line by means of qualitative intensification; this intensification is effected in at least 2 ways. First, the subject of the appositive line is not the *voice* of Yhwh, but Yhwh himself, and second, the semantics of Piel שבר *shatter* in the appositive line is more destructive than Qal שבר *break* in the anchor line. The Standard Description would read these as "synonymous," but an appositive analysis is more precise; after all, קול יהוה is *not* synonymous with יהוה, nor are the Piel and Qal inflections of שבר identical. An analysis of the appositive style of these lines allows for a more adequate description of the relationship between these lines than the Standard Description does.

2.3.4.2.3 Inclusion

Holmstedt and Jones write, "The final semantic relationship for apposition is *inclusion*. In inclusion, the appositive is an example of the anchor–one specific instance of it."[321] However, after surveying a few possible examples of appositives of inclusion, Holmstedt and Jones write, "We can reach no clear conclusion regarding the presence of appositives of inclusion in BH."[322] I am not aware of appositives of inclusion in BH poetry, but I do not deny the possibility that such appositives exist.

2.4 A Way Forward: The Revised and Extended *HVS* Model

For at least 300 years, scholars have agreed with Lowth's conclusion that BH poetry features the interaction of two phenomena: parallelism and metre. Lowth believed BH poetic metre to be irretrievably lost, whereas O'Connor believed that it was *syntax* that regulated BH poetry in a manner analogous to the way metre regulates poetry in other languages. To that end, O'Connor sought to identify the syntactic constraints that regulated BH verse, and he identified six such

[321] Holmstedt and Jones, "Apposition in Biblical Hebrew," 38.

[322] Holmstedt and Jones, "Apposition in Biblical Hebrew," 39.

constraints in a corpus of 1225 lines of early biblical poetry. I have argued that when the corpus is expanded to include all BH poetry, only the first three constraints will prove dependable, and only when these three constraints have been revised. To that end, I have combined and revised O'Connor's first and second constraints and removed constraints 4-6, reducing the total number of constraints from 6 to 2.

O'Connor suggested that what was commonly referred to as "parallelism" could more accurately be described as a collection of "tropes." In §2.3.4, I argued that the weakness of O'Connor's "tropes" was due to their not being rooted deeply enough in the syntactic dimension of interlineal relationships. I argued that Holmstedt's articulation of the appositive style of BH poetry is more syntactically compelling.

The Revised and Extended *HVS* model builds on O'Connor's and Holmstedt's proposals and articulates a syntactic approach to both lineal and interlineal syntax. For the lineal component, I have articulated two constraints:

> 1. *Lines contain between 1 and 4 phonologically expressed constituents.* All heads that result in maximal projection within and including the verb phrase (and including the verb) are visible (i.e., overt, non-null) as constituents for poetic analysis.
>
> 2. *Lines contain between two and five prosodic words.* Prosodic words are: i) unbound orthographic words that have at least one full syllable (CV, where V is not a *shewa*),[323] or ii) orthographic words joined together by cliticization.

For the interlineal component, I adopt Holmstedt's description:

> We might imagine that, after artfully devising a poetic line, the Hebrew poet is constrained by the poetic convention to proceed in one of two ways, either by pausing to elaborate, refine, or reformulate the image introduced in the first line (= apposition), or by moving on with the addition of new features about the current image or a transition to a subsequent image (= non-apposition) … Once the poet has determined that the image is sufficiently elaborate, he moves to the next image by non-appositional syntactic means.[324]

The Revised and Extended *HVS* Model will only supplant the prevailing Standard Description and O'Connor's Standard Description if it can provide more descriptively adequate readings of poems. To that end, I provide a reading of 2 Sam 1:19-27, a poem from O'Connor's corpus, in chapter 3.

---

[323] Dresher, "The Word in Tiberian Hebrew," 98.

[324] Holmstedt, "Hebrew Poetry and the Appositive Style," 630-631.

Chapter 3
Syntactic Descriptions of David's Lament

The sword of Saul ne'er spent its force in air;
The shaft of Jonathan brought low the brave;
In life united equal fates they share,
In death united share one common grave.
– Robert Lowth, Lecture 23, *Lectures*

3 Introduction

In chapter 2 I presented the Revised and Extended *HVS* Model. In this chapter I apply the *REHVS* Model to 2 Sam 1:19-27, a poem from O'Connor's corpus, and compare the results of our analyses. First, I present and compare our lineal analyses. Second, I present and compare our interlineal analyses, first presenting O'Connor's analysis of the poem with his use of tropes followed by my analysis of the poem using Holmstedt's interlineal approach. Finally, I explain the ways in which my approach advances O'Connor's vision of a Syntactic Description of BH poetry.

3.1 Comparing Line Analyses of 2 Sam 1:19-27

In this section, I present O'Connor's and my lineal analyses of 2 Sam 1:19-27 side-by-side. To that end, I provide each line in a two-column table with O'Connor's analysis presented on the left. I have expanded O'Connor's analysis to include transliteration of the vocalized text and explicit marking of his unit and constituent level analysis, followed by his translation and line classification as laid out in *HVS.*[1]

My analysis is presented on the right and includes transliteration of the vocalized text followed by analysis of the Prosodic Word (PW) and Constituent (C) levels. An analysis of each PW's syntactic role is provided beneath the constituent level. This level also marks null and elided constituents so that predicators (V) can be easily counted. Beneath the syntactic role line, I have included my translation and lineal analysis. After presenting each line's analysis in the table, I

[1] O'Connor, *HVS,* 230-233. In *HVS* O'Connor provides transliteration of the consonantal text only; I have transliterated the vocalized text following SBL academic style.

provide a short explanation of the analysis and explain any differences between O'Connor's analysis and mine.

3.1.1 2 Samuel 1:19a

הַצְּבִי יִשְׂרָאֵל עַל־בָּמוֹתֶיךָ חָלָל								19a
haṣṣəbî	*yiśrāʾēl*	*ʿal-bāmôtêkā*	*ḥālāl*	*haṣṣəbî*	*yiśrāʾēl*	*ʿal bāmôtêkā*	*ḥālāl*	Translit
UNIT1	UNIT2	UNIT3	UNIT4	PW1	PW2	PW3	PW4	Word level
C1	C2	C3	C4	C1	–	C2	C3	Const Level
				S	VOC	AD	[V] COMP	Synt Role
The Gazelle, Israel, was pierced on your heights.				The beauty, O Israel, upon your high places is a slain thing!				Trans
3.4.20 Double clause line of four constituents				*Single clause line of 3C, 4PW*				Line Type

O'Connor reads 19a as a double clause line of four constituents and four units. For 19a to be a double clause line there must be two clause predicators, be they phonologically expressed or null. O'Connor explicitly states that he reads חָלָל as a Qal passive[2] here and in line 25b:[3]

> *yəhônātān ʿal-bāmôtêkā ḥālāl*
> Jonathan was pierced on your heights
> *3.3.54 Single independent verbal clause lines of three constituents. SPV*

Reading חָלָל as a verb accounts for one clause predicator, but O'Connor reads 19a as a double clause line. The second predicator, the vocative יִשְׂרָאֵל, is a "minor" predicator.[4]

I read 19a as a single clause line of three constituents and four prosodic words. The first constituent הַצְּבִי is followed by the vocative יִשְׂרָאֵל; if יִשְׂרָאֵל is not read as a vocative, then it is unclear to whom the 2 msg attached pronoun on בָּמוֹת refers. Some translations read הַצְּבִי יִשְׂרָאֵל as a bound phrase, but the presence of the article on צְּבִי precludes this possibility.[5] Other

[2] O'Connor, *HVS,* 230. Neither *DCH* or *HALOT* attest to a passive meaning for this root; I read חָלָל as the noun "slain person."

[3] O'Connor, *HVS*, 233.

[4] O'Connor, *HVS,* 86-87.

[5] NET, KJV read הַצְּבִי יִשְׂרָאֵל as a bound phrase: "The beauty of Israel".

translations read יִשְׂרָאֵל as a vocative and supply *your*: "Your glory, O Israel."[6] Since "Vocatives stand in apposition to the second-person pronoun, expressed or unexpressed, and may occur with either verbless or verbal clauses" (WOC §4.7d), such a reading is possible only if צְבִי refers to the same entity as the vocative יִשְׂרָאֵל, which is by no means clear.

The two primary options for צְבִי are *glory, beauty, pride* or *gazelle, deer*.[7] S. R. Driver writes,

> Ew. and Stade, following Pesh., Le Clerc, Mich. Dathe, De Wette, 'The gazelle,' supposing this to be a name by which Jonathan was popularly known among the warriors, on account of his fleetness … But there is no trace of such a name in connection with Jonathan: and throughout the poem the *two* heroes are consistently spoken of (גבורים five times), –only in *vv.* 25[b], 26 the singer's thoughts turning more particularly to Jonathan,–so that it is unlikely he would begin with a word that was applicable to only one of them. The text must therefore be rendered, 'The beauty, O Israel, upon thy high-places is slain.' Saul and Jonathan, the two heroes who formed the crown and glory of the nation, are called its *beauty*.[8]

While Driver's assertion that the text *must* be rendered "The beauty, O Israel" may overstate the case, I favour *beauty* over *gazelle* because I agree with Driver that David is referring to Saul and Jonathan as a pair.[9] As an uncountable noun, *beauty* lends itself more readily to referencing two people than does the countable noun *gazelle.*

---

[6] ESV, JPS, NIV read יִשְׂרָאֵל as a vocative and supply *your*: "Your glory, O Israel."

[7] *DCH* lists three entries for the word צְבִי: I. n.m. glory, beauty, pride; II. gazelle, deer; III. pr.n.m. Zebi, appar. father of Abi, papMurPalimp[b] 2.

[8] S. R. Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text and the Topography of the Books of Samuel,* 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), 234-235.

[9] Robert Polzin reads along similar lines: "The glory (*ṣ[e]bî*) that is slain in verse 19 specifically stands for Saul and Jonathan in the poem. That *ṣ[e]bî* in verse 19, whatever its meaning, refers to the fallen king and his son is clear both from its parallel term in the verse, *gibbôrîm,* 'the mighty,' epithets for Saul and Jonathan elsewhere in the poem, and the substitution of 'Jonathan' for 'glory' in verse 25, which repeats the parallelism in verse 19 but in reverse order (*David and the Deuteronomist: 2 Samuel,* A Literary Study of the Deuteronomistic History, Part 3 [Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993], 13).

Proponents of reading the referent of *haṣṣəbî yiśrāʾēl* as Jonathan include D. N. Freedman, "The Refrain in David's Lament Over Saul and Jonathan," in *Pottery, Poetry, and Prophecy: Studies in Early Hebrew Poetry* (1972; repr., Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1980), 268-274; and Craig E. Morrison, *2 Samuel,* Berit Olam: Studies in Hebrew Narrative and Poetry (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2013), 30.

Proponents of reading the referent of *haṣṣəbî yiśrāʾēl* as Saul include Douglas K. Stuart ("Supply *šāʾûl*; it is lacking as the apposition to *ṣəbî yiśrāʾēl*" [*Studies in Early Hebrew Meter*, Harvard Semitic Monograph Series 13 (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1976), 193; I have adjusted Stuart's transliteration to align with SBL Academic style]) and David Tsumura, *The Second Book of Samuel,* NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2019), 52-53.

The first two orthographic words are both in their unbound state and are thus both prosodic words, but only the first prosodic word is counted as a constituent because the vocative is neither a verb nor an argument or modifier of the verb in this clause.

I read חָלָל as a ms noun (*slain one/thing*), and the predicate of the null copula: *The beauty, O Israel, is* [ø] *a slain thing*.[10] The null copula is counted as a verb but not as a constituent because it is not phonologically expressed. The PP עַל־בָּמוֹתֶיךָ is one prosodic word (unit). O'Connor and I agree on this, but for different reasons: O'Connor reads the phrase as a single unit because he regards prepositions as dependent on their noun,[11] whereas I read the PP as a single prosodic word because prepositions are always bound to their complements.[12] The PP עַל־בָּמוֹתֶיךָ is an adverbial locative modifier of the verb, and therefore a constituent.

3.1.2 2 Samuel 1:19b

אֵיךְ נָפְלוּ גִבּוֹרִים׃		19b
’êk-nāpəlû *gibbôrîm*	*’êk* *nāpəlû* *gibbôrîm*	Translit
UNIT1 UNIT2	PW1 PW2 PW3	Word level
C1 C2	– C1 C2	Const Level
	EXCL V S	Synt Role
The warriors have fallen.	[The] warriors have fallen!	Trans
3.3.2 Single independent verbal clause line of two constituents. VS	*Single independent verbal clause line of 2C, 3PW*	Line Type

O'Connor reads 19b as a single independent verbal clause line of two constituents and two units. O'Connor does not count אֵיךְ as a unit because he views particles as “dependent on the noun or

[10] Throughout this work I have represented the Hebrew syntax as directly as possible in English translation. This decision has resulted in renderings that are, shall we say, “less than poetic” in English. Obviously Driver's *The beauty, O Israel, upon thy high-places is slain* is a preferable English gloss, but what it gains in beauty it sacrifices in syntactic precision, since the English adjective “slain” is used to represent the Hebrew noun חלל.

[11] O'Connor, *HVS,* 68.

[12] A preposition is cliticized to its complement host even when it is not joined by *maqqef*. See Robert D. Holmstedt, “Critical at the Margins: Edge Constituents in Biblical Hebrew,” *KUSATU* 17 (2014): 109-156.

verb that follows it directly."[13] O'Connor's translation indicates that he reads אֵיךְ as a particle of interjection rather than a particle of interrogation.

I also read 19b as a single independent verbal clause line of two constituents. Like O'Connor, I read אֵיךְ as an exclamative particle, but unlike O'Connor, I read אֵיךְ as a prosodic word due to its not being cliticized. However, I do not reckon אֵיךְ as a constituent because it is not an argument or modifier of the verb. In my translation, the force of אֵיךְ is captured by the exclamation point.

3.1.3 2 Samuel 1:20a

אַל־תַּגִּידוּ בְגַת		20a
'al-taggîdû *bəgat*	*'al taggîdû* *bəgat*	Translit
UNIT1 UNIT2	PW1 PW2	Word level
C1 C2	C1 C2	Const Level
	NEG+V AD	Synt Role
Do not say so in Gath-Ashqelon	Do not declare [it] in Gath;	Trans
3.3.4 Single independent verbal clause line of two constituents. VP	*Single independent verbal clause line of 2C, 2PW*	Line Type

O'Connor and I come to the same analysis of 20a, but we read the PP as one prosodic word (unit) for different reasons: O'Connor reads the phrase as a single unit because he regards prepositions as dependent on their noun, while I read the PP as a prosodic word because prepositions are always bound to their complements. I address O'Connor's analysis of "Gath-Ashqelon" and the referent of the null anaphors in this line and the next (*Do not declare* / *announce* [*it*]) in §3.3.2.1.

[13] O'Connor, *HVS,* 68.

3.1.4 2 Samuel 1:20b

אַל־תְּבַשְּׂרוּ בְּחוּצֹת אַשְׁקְלֹון				20b
'al-təbaśśərû	*<u>bəḥûṣōt–'ašqəlôn</u>*	*<u>'al təbaśśərû</u>*	*<u>bəḥûṣōt 'ašqəlôn</u>*	Translit
UNIT1	<u>UNIT2 UNIT3</u>	PW1	PW2	Word level
C1	C2	C1	C2	Const Level
		NEG+V	AD	Synt Role
Do not give out the news in Gath-Ashqelon's streets		Do not announce [it] on the streets of Ashkelon		Trans
3.3.4 Single independent verbal clause line of two constituents. VP		*Single independent verbal clause line of 2C, 2PW*		Line Type

O'Connor and I both read 20b as a single independent verbal clause line of two constituents. We both read בְּחוּצֹת אַשְׁקְלֹון as a single constituent, but I read it as a single prosodic word, whereas O'Connor reads it as two units. I reckon בְּחוּצֹת אַשְׁקְלֹון as a single prosodic word because it is joined by cliticization, and as a constituent because it is a locative adverbial modifier of the verb.

3.1.5 2 Samuel 1:20c, d

פֶּן־תִּשְׂמַחְנָה בְּנוֹת פְּלִשְׁתִּים				20c
pen–tiśmaḥnâ	*<u>bənôt–pəlištîm</u>*	*<u>pen tiśmaḥnâ</u>*	*<u>bənôt pəlištîm</u>*	Translit
UNIT 1	<u>UNIT2 UNIT3</u>	PW1	PW2	Word level
C1	C2	C1	C2	Const Level
		NEG+V	S	Synt Role
Lest pagan Philistine women rejoice,		Lest the Philistine daughters rejoice;		Trans
3.3.22 Single dependent verbal clause line of two constituents; Finite clauses, purpose, exceptive and conditional clauses.		*Single dependent verbal clause line of 2C, 2PW; negative result clause*		Line Type
פֶּן־תַּעֲלֹזְנָה בְּנוֹת הָעֲרֵלִים׃				20d
pen–ta'ălōznâ	*<u>bənôt–hā'ărēlîm</u>*	*<u>pen ta'ălōznâ</u>*	*<u>bənôt hā'ărēlîm</u>*	Translit
UNIT1	<u>UNIT2 UNIT3</u>	PW1	PW2	Word level
C1	C2	C1	C2	Const Level
		NEG+V	S	Synt Role
Lest pagan Philistine women exult.		Lest the daughters of the uncircumcised exult.		Trans
3.3.22 Single dependent verbal clause line of two constituents; Finite, purpose, exceptive & conditional clauses.		*Single dependent verbal clause line of 2C, 2PW; negative result clause*		Line Type

O'Connor and I both read 20c and 20d as single dependent verbal clause lines of two constituents, but as in our analyses of 20b, we differ in the number of prosodic words (units). I read בְּנוֹת פְּלִשְׁתִּים as one prosodic word because it is cliticized, but O'Connor reads בְּנוֹת פְּלִשְׁתִּים as two units that make up a single constituent. I discuss O'Connor analysis of בְּנוֹת פְּלִשְׁתִּים and בְּנוֹת הָעֲרֵלִים (represented in his translation "pagan Philistine women") as tropes of coloration in §3.3.1.2.

3.1.6 2 Samuel 1:21a

הָרֵי בַגִּלְבֹּעַ אַל־טָל		21a
hārê *baggilbōaʿ* *ʾal-ṭal* UNIT1 UNIT2 UNIT3 C1 C2 C3 Hills, no dew in Gilboa *3.4.9 Double clause line of three constituents. Independent null copula clauses with vocatives.*	<u>*hārê baggilbōaʿ*</u> <u>*ʾal ṭal*</u> PW1 PW2 – C1 C2 VOC NEG+[V] COMP Hills in Gilboa, [let there be] no dew [on you]! *Single independent verbal clause lines of 2C, 2 PW*	Translit Word level Const Level Synt Role Trans Line Type

O'Connor reads 21a as a double clause line of three constituents. In his reckoning, the two clause predicators are the vocative הָרֵי and the null predicator. O'Connor explains, "The form of *hry* is a cstr. form used in a place in which Classical Hebrew would use an absolute."[14] O'Connor reads הָרֵי as a vocative in its absolute form while acknowledging it is a morphologically construct form. The first (minor) clause of the line is the vocative הָרֵי; the second clause is בַגִּלְבֹּעַ אַל־טַל.

I analyze 21a as a single independent verbal clause line of two constituents. I read הָרֵי בַגִּלְבֹּעַ as a bound phrase, and thus as a single prosodic word.[15] The NP is vocative; I do not count it as a constituent because it is neither an argument nor a modifier of the verb.

[14] O'Connor, *HVS,* 231.

[15] On nominal forms bound to PP, see Christo H. J. van der Merwe, Jacobus A. Naudé, Jan H. Kroeze, *A Biblical Hebrew Reference Grammar* 2nd ed. (London Bloomsbury, 2017) §25.3.1.3b; GKC §130a; WOC §9.6b; JM §129n.

The particle אַל negates a null injunction.[16] Null predicators are not counted as constituents because they are not phonologically expressed. However, because the negator is phonologically expressed, the NEG+[V] is counted as a constituent in 21a, b.

3.1.7 2 Samuel 1:21b

וְאַל־מָטָר עֲלֵיכֶם וּשְׂדֵי תְרוּמֹת							21b
wəʾal-māṭār	*ʿălêkem*	*ûśədê–tərûmōt*	*wəʾal*	*māṭār*	*ʿălêkem*	*ûśədê tərûmōt*	Translit
UNIT1	UNIT2	UNIT3 UNIT4	PW1	PW2	PW3	PW4	Word level
C1	C2	C3	C1	C2	C3	–	Const Level
			NEG+[V]	COMP	AD	VOC	Synt Role
No rain on you, lofty fields			[Let there be] no rain upon you, lofty fields![17]				Trans
3.4.9 Double clause line of three constituents. Independent verbless clauses with vocatives			*Single clause line of 3C, 4PW*				Line Type

[16] *DCH* suggests glossing אַל in 2 Sam 1:21 as *let there not be,* and cites similar usage Isa 62:6, Ps 83:2, Prov 12:28, 31:4. Whether O'Connor would read אַל as the conflation of the negative particle and a null jussive is unclear; on the one hand, he states that "The particle class includes all conjunctions, markers of negation and emphasis, and prepositions. A particle is said to be dependent on the noun or verb that follows it directly" (*HVS,* 68), but on the other hand, he writes, "The difficulties in separating nouns from verbs are fewer [than the difficulties in separating particles and nouns] and chiefly involve the so-called existentials, the existential verb *hyy* and the negative existential pseudoverb *'yn* can stand alone; neither is in fact anything like a true existential. In these cases, we have taken all forms … as verbal, again tending to err toward the extremes rather than the middle of the continuum" (*HVS,* 299). The latter quotation suggests that O'Connor would not object to my analysis, but the matter cannot be decided conclusively.

[17] וּשְׂדֵי תְרוּמֹת has been the subject of extensive discussion and emendation. H. L. Ginsberg's "A Ugaritic Parallel to 2 Sam 1:21" (*JBL* 57.2 [1938]: 209-213) set a precedent for emending the text from ושדי תרומת to שרע תהמתם "upsurging of the deep", and was subsequently adopted by Gervitz (1963: 85-87), Holladay (1970: 170-173; Holladay uses Ginsberg's work as a starting point and reconstructs וּשְׂרֵעִי תְהוֹמֹת), and Stuart (1976: 188-195). Kyle McCarter (1984:71) reads ושדי תהמות, "or flowing of the deeps" with Gordis (1940: 34-43).

Not all scholars have deemed emendation necessary; for those who retain the reading of the MT, there are two options. The first is an approach adopted by Driver who renders ושדי תרומות "*and fields of offerings*, which is interpreted to mean, fields bearing produce from which first-fruits are offered" (1890:182). The benefit of this analysis lies in the fact that תרומות normally refers to offerings, as evidenced by *DCH.*

The second approach to the phrase is advocated by Freedman and adopted by O'Connor and myself. Freedman writes, "We render *wśdy trwmt* 'Even you lofty fields', i.e., "fields of the heights", the plateau in the Gilboa range where the battle actually took place. We call attention to the related expression in the Song of Deborah, *mᵉrōmē śādēh,* usually rendered "heights of the field" but clearly referring to an elevated plain, or plateau. The passage (Judg. 5:18) also comes out of a battle context, and is semantically equivalent to *śᵉdē tᵉrūmōt.* Since *trwmt* and *mrwmy* are derived from the same root (*rwm* meaning "high, raised"), the equation is justified" ("The Refrain in David's Lament," 270).

O'Connor reads 21b as a double clause line of three constituents. O'Connor reads וּשְׂדֵי תְרוּמֹת as a vocative (and thus as a minor predicator), and the second predicator is null. I read 21b as a single clause line of four constituents. וְאַל־מָטָר is two prosodic words despite being joined by *maqqef*. אַל joins with the null verb to create the null injunction, and מָטָר serves as its complement. As a vocative, וּשְׂדֵי תְרוּמֹת stands outside the clause and is therefore not counted as a constituent.

3.1.8 2 Samuel 1:21c

כִּי שָׁם נִגְעַל מָגֵן גִּבּוֹרִים								21c
kî–šām	*nigʿal*	*māgēn–gibbôrîm*		*kî*	*šām*	*nigʿal*	*māgēn gibbôrîm*	Translit
UNIT1 UNIT2	UNIT3	UNIT4 UNIT5		PW1	PW2	PW3	PW4	Word level
C1	C2	C3		–	C1	C2	C3	Const Level
				SUBORD PART	AD	V	S	Synt Role
There the warriors' leader was disgraced *3.3.45 Single independent verbal clause line of three constituents. AVS*				Because there lies rejected the shield of warriors *Single dependent verbal clause line of 3C, 4PW; finite causal clause*				Trans / Line Type

O'Connor reads 21c as a single independent verbal clause line of three constituents and four units. O'Connor's transliteration joins כִּי and שָׁם with a dash (*kî-šām*), which indicates that he reads each orthographic word as a unit.[18]

I read 21c as a single dependent verbal clause line of 3 constituents and four prosodic words. This line is dependent on 21b because it is a finite clause that provides the cause of the injunctions against dew and rain in 21a, b.

כִּי is a prosodic word because it is not joined to another word by cliticization. However, כִּי is neither a verb nor a verbal argument, so it is not counted as a constituent. שָׁם is a prosodic word that *is* counted as a constituent because it is an adjunct that modifies the verb. As the verb in the clause, נִגְעַל is counted as a constituent. מָגֵן and גִּבּוֹרִים are orthographic words joined by

[18] "We will join the units of a constituent with a dash; this only occasionally coincides with the Massoretic mark of punctuation, the *maqqep*" (O'Connor, *HVS,* 69).

cliticization to create one prosodic word. As an argument of the verb, מָגֵן גִּבּוֹרִים is also a constituent.

Following Freedman, O'Connor reads מָגֵן as מָגֶן, 'benefactor, suzerain, leader.'[19] I see no need to adjust the pointing because there is no evidence of textual corruption and "shield" is intelligible in this context.[20] I read the image of a shield lying desolate as a metonymy for the warriors who held them, warriors who themselves are referred to as "weapons of war" in verse 27 (more on this in §3.3.28 below).[21]

3.1.9 2 Samuel 1:21d

מָגֵן שָׁאוּל בְּלִי מָשִׁיחַ בַּשָּׁמֶן׃							21d
māgēn–šāʾûl	*bəlî–mišîaḥ*	*baššāmen*	*māgēn šāʾûl*		*bəlî māšîaḥ*	*baššāmen*	Translit
UNIT1 UNIT2	UNIT3 UNIT4	UNIT5	PW1		PW2 PW3	PW4	Word level
C1	C2	C3	C1		C2	C3	Const Level
			S	[V]	COMP	AD	Synt Role
Leader Saul was anointed with oil *3.3.68 Single null copula clause line of three constituents. Predicate of two constituents.*			The shield of Saul is without anointing with oil. *Single dependent verbal clause line of 3C, 4PW; finite causal clause*				Trans Line Type

O'Connor reads 21d as a single independent verbal clause line of three constituents and five units. I read 21d as a single dependent verbal clause line of three constituents and four prosodic words. While O'Connor counts 5 units, I count 4 prosodic words because the orthographic words

[19] O'Connor writes, "On *mgn* 'benefactor, suzerain, leader' in this poem, see Freedman 1972a: 122-23" (*HVS,* 231). "Freedman 1972a" refers to D. N. Freedman's "The Refrain in David's Lament over Saul and Jonathan" (see bibliographical details in note 9 of the present chapter).

[20] "We interpret the term *mgn* as 'benefactor, suzerain, chieftain' rather than 'shield'. The word, perhaps *magan,* is a cognate of Phoenician – Punic *magon,* which is rendered in Latin by 'imperator'" (D. N. Freedman, "The Refrain in David's Lament," 270).

[21] In his commentary, V. Philips Long makes explicit the link between the shield and the warrior who wields it: "Reference in 21b to *the shield of Saul – no longer rubbed* (lit. 'anointed', *māšîaḥ*) *with oil* makes sense from a physical standpoint, inasmuch as some shields in Saul's day were constructed of leather stretched over a wooden frame, and the leather needed to be conditioned with oil (Yadin 1963: 83-84; Millard 1978: 70). But David may be lamenting more than the fact that Saul's military equipment will now fall into disuse and degrade. Saul, himself the Lord's 'anointed', is no more" (V. Philips Long, *1-2 Samuel: An Introduction and Commentary,* Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries [Downers Grove: IVP Academic, 2020], 288-289, emphasis original).

מָגֵן and שָׁאוּל are joined by cliticization, creating one prosodic word. Like 21c, I read 21d as a dependent clause that provides further cause for the injunctions against dew and rain in 21a, b.

3.1.10 2 Samuel 1:22a

מִדַּם חֲלָלִים	22a	מִדַּם חֲלָלִים מֵחֵלֶב גִּבּוֹרִים	22a
middam–ḥălālîm UNIT1 UNIT2 C1 From the blood of wounded warriors, *3.5.5 One constituent phrase line*	Translit Word level Const Level Synt Role Translation Line Type	*middam ḥălālîm* *mēḥēleb gibbôrîm* PW1 PW2 C1 COMP (of נָשׂוֹג in the next line) From the blood of the slain, from the fat of warriors *Phrase line of 1C, 2PW*	Translit Word level Const Level Synt Role Translation Line Type
מֵחֵלֶב גִּבּוֹרִים	22b		
mēḥēleb–gibbôrîm UNIT1 UNIT2 C1 From the flesh of wounded warriors, *3.5.5 One constituent phrase line*	Translit Word level Const Level Translation Line Type		

O'Connor's analysis of verse 22 yields 4 lines. It is not clear why O'Connor breaks מִדַּם חֲלָלִים מֵחֵלֶב גִּבּוֹרִים into two one-constituent, two-unit phrase lines, but his understanding of the "trope" of line-matching may account for this (*HVS* §6.1.7; see my §3.3.1.4 below).[22]

For my part, I read מִדַּם חֲלָלִים מֵחֵלֶב גִּבּוֹרִים as a one constituent phrase line consisting of two prosodic words. In the Revised and Extended *HVS* model, I have chosen to put the maximum number of prosodic words and constituents in a line as are permitted by the constraints. Without such a working principle, many biblical lines could be broken down further, resulting in

[22] Using his own criteria, O'Connor could have read his 21a, b as a two constituent phrase-clause line consisting of four units (§3.5.2):

Middam–ḥălālîm *mēḥēleb–gibbôrîm*
UNIT1 UNIT2 UNIT3 UNIT4
C1 C2

numerous extremely short lines and a preponderance of enjambment that would stretch credulity.[23]

The orthographic words מִדַּם and חֶלְבֵי are joined by cliticization to make up a single prosodic word, as is the case with מֵחֵלֶב and גִּבּוֹרִים. Together, these two prosodic words make up a coordinated NP that serves as the complement of the verb נָשׁוֹג in 22b. Because the complement and the verb are on separate lines, they are enjambed.[24]

3.1.11 2 Samuel 1:22b, c

קֶשֶׁת יְהוֹנָתָן לְאׇ נָשׁוֹג אָחֹור	22c	קֶשֶׁת יְהוֹנָתָן לְאׇ נָשׁוֹג אָחֹור	22b
qešet–yəhônātān *lōʾ–nāśôg* *ʾāḥôr*	Translit	*qešet yəhônātān* *lōʾ nāśôg* *ʾāḥôr*	Translit
UNIT1 UNIT2 UNIT3 UNIT4	Word level	PW1 PW2 PW3	Word level
C1 C2 C3	Const Level	C1 C2 C3	Const Level
	Synt Role	S NEG + V AD	Synt Role
Jonathan-Saul's bow did not turn back,	Translation	The bow of Jonathan did not turn back;	Translation
3.3.42 Single independent verbal clause line of three constituents. SVA	Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 3PW*	Line Type
וְחֶרֶב שָׁאוּל לְאׇ תָשׁוּב רֵיקָם:	22d	וְחֶרֶב שָׁאוּל לְאׇ תָשׁוּב רֵיקָם:	22c
wəḥereb–šāʾûl *lōʾ–tāšûb* *rêqām*	Translit	*wəḥereb šāʾûl* *lōʾ tāšûb* *rêqām*	Translit
UNIT1 UNIT2 UNIT3 UNIT4	Word level	PW1 PW2 PW3	Word level
C1 C2 C3	Const Level	C1 C2 C3	Const Level
	Synt Role	S NEG+V AD	Synt Role
Jonathan-Saul's sword was not set up clean.	Translation	The sword of Saul did not return empty.	Translation
3.3.42 Single independent verbal clause line of three constituents. SVA	Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 3PW*	Line Type

O'Connor and I both read lines 22b, c [O'Connor's 22c, d] as single independent verbal clause lines of three constituents. O'Connor discerns four units in each line; I discern three prosodic

[23] In §2.2 I noted Kugel's critique of O'Connor's lineation of Judges 5.12, which is related to the ability to break lines down in order to "fit" them into the constraints. A principle that maximizes the number of prosodic words and constituents in a line without violating the constraints mitigates this problem.

[24] D. C. Clarke defines enjambment as "The continuation of a syntactic unit from one line to the next without a major juncture or pause; the opposite of an end-stopped line. While enjambment can refer to any verse that is not end-stopped, it is generally reserved for instances in which the 'not stopping' of the verse is felt as overflow" (*NPEPP,* s.v. "Enjambment").

words per line. In the phrases לא נשׂוג and לא תשׂוב, the negation לא is not joined to its verb by cliticization, but the negation and its verb nevertheless make up a single prosodic word. In BH, negatives combine with their verb to create a complex that cannot be interrupted by any other syntactic item.[25] The NEG+V complex has prosodic status.

3.1.12 2 Samuel 1:23a, b

שָׁא֤וּל וְיהוֹנָתָן֙ הַנֶּאֱהָבִ֣ים וְהַנְּעִימִ֔ם		23a
šāʾûl–wîhônātān hanneʾĕhābîm–wəhannəʿîmim UNIT1 UNIT2 UNIT3 UNIT4 C1 C2 Saul and Jonathan were loved and lovely *3.3.24 Single null copula line of two constituents. Predicate-Subject*	*šāʾûl wîhônātān hanneʾĕhābîm wəhannəʿîmim* PW1 PW2 PW3 PW4 C1 C2 S [V] COMP Saul and Jonathan were beloved and pleasant *Single null copula line of 2C, 4PW*	Translit Word level Const Level Synt Role Trans Line Type
בְּחַיֵּיהֶ֥ם וּבְמוֹתָ֖ם לֹ֣א נִפְרָ֑דוּ		23b
bəḥayyêhem–ûbəmôtām lōʾ-niprādû UNIT1 UNIT2 UNIT3 C1 C2 In their lives and deaths they were not divided. *3.3.8 Single independent verbal clause line of two constituents. PV*	*bəḥayyêhem ûbəmôtām lōʾ niprādû* PW1 PW2 PW3 C1 C2 AD NEG+V In their lives and in their deaths they were not divided. *Single independent verbal clause line of 2C, 3PW*	Translit Word level Const Level Synt Role Trans Line Type

O'Connor and I come to the same analysis of lines 23a and 23b.

[25] In "Negation," J. R. Payne outlines four ways in which sentential negation is expressed linguistically (J. R. Payne, "Negation," in *Language Typology and Syntactic Description. Vol. I: Clause Structure,* edited by T. Shopen [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985], 197-242). Of the four negation strategies that Payne outlines, BH makes use of the third strategy that involves the use of negative markers (also known as negative "particles") immediately preceding the verb. Raffaella Zanuttini explains the use of negative markers preceding verbs in "Sentential Negation," in *The Handbook of Contemporary Syntactic Theory,* ed. Mark Baltin and Chris Collins (Malden: Blackwell Publishers, 2011), 511-535; see also §11.6 in Andrew Carnie's *Constituent Structure,* 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

3.1.13 2 Samuel 1:23c, 24a

מִנְּשָׁרִים קַלּוּ	23c	מִנְּשָׁרִים קַלּוּ מֵאֲרָיוֹת גָּבֵרוּ:	23c
minnəšārîm qallû UNIT1 UNIT2 C1 C2 They were faster than eagles *3.3.8 Single independent verbal clause line of two constituents. PV*	Translit Word level Const Level Synt Role Translation Line Type	*minnəšārîm qallû mēʾărāyôt gābērû* PW1 PW2 PW3 PW4 C1 C2 C3 C4 AD V AD V COMPAR מן PHRASE COMPAR מן PHRASE They were swifter than eagles, they were stronger than lions. *Double clause line of 4C, 4PW*	Translit Word level Const Level Synt Role Translation Line Type
מֵאֲרָיוֹת גָּבֵרוּ:	23d		
mēʾărāyôt gābērû UNIT1 UNIT2 C1 C2 They were stronger than lions 3.3.8 *Single independent verbal clause line of two constituents. PV*	Translit Word level Const Level Translation Line Type		
בְּנוֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶל-שָׁאוּל בְּכֶינָה			24a
bənôt–yiśrāʾēl ʾel-šāʾûl bəkênâ UNIT1 UNIT2 UNIT3 UNIT4 C1 C2 C3 Israelite women, weep for Saul *3.4.6 Double clause lines of three constituents. Independent verbal clauses with vocatives.*	Translit Word level Const Level Synt Role Translation Line Type	*bənôt yiśrāʾēl ʾel šāʾûl bəkênâ* PW1 PW2 PW3 – C1 C2 VOC AD V Daughters of Israel, weep over Saul *Single independent verbal clause line of 2C, 3PW*	Translit Word level Const Level Synt Role Translation Line Type

O'Connor's and my lineation diverge in the latter half of verse 23 in much the same way as verse 22. O'Connor divides מִנְּשָׁרִים קַלּוּ and מֵאֲרָיוֹת גָּבֵרוּ into two single independent verbal clause line of two constituents [his 23c, d], while the working principle I have adopted (§3.1.10, §3.2.2) yields a double clause line of 4C, 4PW.

O'Connor reads 24a as a double clause line of three constituents and four units. O'Connor reads בְּנוֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל as a vocative and thus as a minor predicator; the second predicator is בְּכֶינָה. I read 24a as a single verbal clause line of two constituents. Like O'Connor, I read בְּנוֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל as a

vocative, but because it is not a verb, verbal argument, or verbal modifier, I do not count it as a constituent.

3.1.14 2 Samuel 1:24b

הַמַּלְבִּשְׁכֶם שָׁנִי עִם־עֲדָנִים		24b
hammalbiškem *šānî* *ʿim-ʿădānîm*	*hammalbiškem* *šānî* *ʿim ʿădānîm*	Translit
UNIT1 UNIT2 UNIT3	PW1 PW2 PW3	Word level
C1 C2 C3	C1 C2 C3	Const Level
	V + ATTPROCOMP AD	Synt Role
Who dressed you in scarlet with woven jewelry,	Who clothed you [in] scarlet [cloth] with jewels,	Trans
3.3.63 Single dependent verbal clause lines of three constituents. Nonfinite clauses, participial clauses.	*Single dependent verbal clause lines of 3C, 3PW*	Line Type

O'Connor and I both read 24b as a single verbal clause line of three constituents and three prosodic words (units). Line 24b is dependent on the main clause in 24a.

I read הַמַּלְבִּשְׁכֶם as a single prosodic word but two constituents because the participle takes an attached pronoun complement. The third constituent is a NP adjunct with an internal PP (שָׁנִי and עִם־עֲדָנִים): *Who clothed you* [*in*] *scarlet* [*cloth*] *with jewels* (i.e., jewels are woven into the cloth).

3.1.15 2 Samuel 1:24c

הַמַּעֲלָה עֲדִי זָהָב עַל לְבוּשְׁכֶן:			24c
*hamma*ʿ*ălê*	*ʿădî–zāhāb*	*ʿal–ləbûšəken*	Translit
UNIT1	UNIT2 UNIT3	UNIT4	Word level
C1	C2	C3	Const Level
			Synt Role
Who set gold woven jewelry on your dresses			Trans
3.3.63 Single dependent verbal clause lines of three constituents. Nonfinite clauses, participial clauses.			Line Type
*hamma*ʿ*ălê*	*ʿădî zāhāb*	*ʿal ləbûšəken*	
PW1	PW2	PW3	
C1	C2	C3	
V	COMP	AD	
Who placed ornaments of gold (collective s) upon your clothes			
Single dependent verbal clause lines of 3C, 3PW			

O'Connor and I both read 24c as a single verbal clause line of three constituents, but we diverge on our count of prosodic words (units). Like 24b, line 24c is dependent on 24a. O'Connor reads עֲדִי זָהָב as a constituent made up of two units. By contrast, I read עֲדִי זָהָב as a single prosodic word because the two orthographic words are joined by cliticization. עֲדִי זָהָב is a single constituent because it is an argument of the verb.

3.1.16 2 Samuel 1:25a

אֵיךְ נָפְלוּ גִבֹּרִים בְּתוֹךְ הַמִּלְחָמָה			25a
ʾêk–nāpəlû	*gibbôrîm*	*bətôk–hammilhāmâ*	Translit
UNIT1	UNIT2	UNIT3 UNIT4	Word level
C1	C2	C3	Const Level
			Synt Role
The warriors have fallen in war.			Trans
3.3.28 Single independent verbal clause line of three constituents. VSP			Line Type
ʾêk	*nāpəlû*	*gibbôrîm* *bətôk hammilhāmâ*	
PW1	PW2	PW3 PW4	
–	C1	C2 C3	
EXCL	V	S AD	
The mighty have fallen in the midst of battle!			
Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 4PW			

O'Connor and I both read 25a as a single independent verbal clause line of three constituents and three prosodic words (units). As in 19b, I count אֵיךְ as a prosodic word; O'Connor does not count אֵיךְ because it is a particle. O'Connor reads בְּתוֹךְ הַמִּלְחָמָה as a single constituent made up of two units, whereas I read it as a single constituent and a single prosodic word because it is a bound phrase.

3.1.17 2 Samuel 1:25b

יְהֹונָתָן עַל־בָּמוֹתֶיךָ חָלָל׃		25b
yəhônātān *ʿal-bāmôtêkâ* *ḥālāl* UNIT1 UNIT2 UNIT3 C1 C2 C3 Jonathan was pierced on your heights *3.3.54 Single independent verbal clause lines of three constituents. SPV*	*yəhônātān* *ʿal bāmôtêkā* *ḥālāl* PW1 PW2 PW3 C1 C2 C3 S AD [V] COMP Jonathan [is] a slain one upon your high places *Single null copula clause line of 3C, 3PW*	Translit Word level Const Level Synt Role Trans Line Type

O'Connor reads 25b as a single independent verbal clause line of three constituents and three units. I read 25b as a single null copula clause line of three constituents and three units because I read חָלָל as a noun (cf. 19a above).

3.1.18 2 Samuel 1:26a

צַר־לִי עָלֶיךָ אָחִי		26a
ṣar *lî* *ʿālêkā* *ʾāḥî* UNIT1 UNIT2 UNIT3 UNIT4 C1 C2 C3 C4 It is hard for me because of you, my Brother Jonathan *3.4.20 Double clause line of four constituents*	*ṣar* *lî* *ālêkā* *ʾāḥî* PW1 PW2 PW3 PW4 C1 C2 C3 – S [V] COMP AD VOC I have grief because of you, my brother *Single null copula clause line of 3C, 4PW*	Translit Word level Const Level Synt Role Trans Line Type

O'Connor reads 26a as a double clause line of four constituents and four units. The verb in the first clause is null, while the second clause consists of a minor predicator, the vocative אחי. I discuss O'Connor analysis of אחי and יהונתן in 26a and 26b (represented in his translation "my brother Jonathan") as tropes of coloration in §3.3.1.8.

I read 26a as a single null copula clause line of three constituents and four prosodic words. The subject of the clause is צַר (n. m. *distress, grief*); the copula is null, and לִי is the complement. צַר and לִי are the first two prosodic words and constituents. The third constituent is the PP adjunct

עָלֶיךָ, which modifies the verb. אָחִי is the final prosodic word, but is not counted as a constituent because it is a vocative that stands outside the clause.

3.1.19 2 Samuel 1:26b

יְהוֹנָתָן נָעַמְתָּ לִי מְאֹד								26b
yəhônātān	*nāʿamtā*	*lî*	*məʾōd*	*yəhônātān*	*nāʿamtā*	*lî*	*məʾōd*	Translit
UNIT1	UNIT2	UNIT3	UNIT4	PW1	PW2	PW3	PW4	Word level
C1	C2	C3	C4	–	C1	C2	C3	Const Level
				VOC	V	AD	AD	Synt Role
My Brother Jonathan, you were very good for me *3.4.20 Double clause line of four constituents*				Jonathan, you were very pleasant to me *Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 4PW*				Trans Line Type

Like 26a, O'Connor reads 26b as a double clause line of four constituents and four units. The first clause is the vocative יְהוֹנָתָן ; the second clause is נָעַמְתָּ לִי מְאֹד. I read 26b as a single independent verbal clause line of three constituents and four prosodic words. The first prosodic word is the vocative יהונתן; it is not counted as a constituent because it is not a verb, verbal modifier, or an argument of the verb. The second prosodic word is a constituent because נעמת is a verb. The third prosodic word is a constituent because it is also an argument of the verb. The fourth prosodic word is a constituent because it modifies the verb.

3.1.20 2 Samuel 1:26c

נִפְלְאַתָּה ... נפלא אתה	26c	נִפְלְאַתָּה אַהֲבָתְךָ לִי מֵאַהֲבַת נָשִׁים:	26c
niplāʾ *ʾattâ* UNIT1 UNIT2 C1 C2 You were a wonder *3.3.25 Single null copula clause line of two constituents. Predicate-Subject*	Translit Word level Const Level Synt Role Trans Line Type	*niplәʾatâ* *ʾahăbātәkā* *lî* *mēʾahăbat nāšîm* PW1 PW2 PW3 PW4 C1 C2 C3 C4 V S AD AD COMPAR מן PHRASE Your love was more wonderful to me than the love of women *Single clause line of 4C, 4PW*	Translit Word level Const Level Synt Role Trans Line Type
אַהֲבָתְךָ לִי	26d		
ʾahăbātkā *lî* UNIT1 UNIT2 C1 C2 Your love was mine 3.3.24 *Single null copula clause line of two constituents. Subject-Predicate.*	Translit Word level Const Level Trans Line Type		
מֵאַהֲבַת נָשִׁים ... מ אהבת נשים	26e		
Mâ *ʾahăbat–nāšîm* UNIT1 UNIT2 UNIT3 C1 C2 What is the love of women? 3.3.25 *Single null copula clause of two constituents. Predicate-Subject*	Translit Word level Const Level Trans Line Type		

O'Connor emends נִפְלְאַתָּה אַהֲבָתְךָ to נפלא אתה.[26] The emended text is a null copula clause of two constituents. As in verses 22 and 23, it is unclear why O'Connor opted for two single clause lines

[26] O'Connor notes, "The emendation of MT's cancerous form, by supplying a ʾ lost through haplography and redividing, originated in Cross and Freedman (1975: 26); cf. Freedman (1972a: 123), and Stuart (1976: 189)" (O'Connor, *HVS,* 233). In "The Refrain in David's Lament Over Saul and Jonathan," (the source O'Connor cites as "Freedman 1972a"), Freedman writes, "We read *nplʾth* as two words *niplāʾ ʾattāh,* 'You were extraordinary'. The Hebrew term is anomalous. What is required by the context is a 2nd person singular expression, and a phrase parallel to *nʿmt ly m'd.* The proposed reading *npl' 'th* meets both requirements" (Freedman, "The Refrain" in *Pottery, Poetry, and Prophecy* [1972; repr.,Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1980], 271). These comments expand on those made in Cross and Freedman's *Studies in Ancient Yahwistic Poetry,* which Connor cites as "Cross and Freedman 1975." Stuart (1976) accepts Cross and Freedman's emendation without further comment.

I do not agree with Freedman's assertions about "what is required by the context" in this line because they are based on metrical and parallelistic assumptions about the poetry that I do not share. I accept Driver's explanation of נפלאתה (see n. 30 below) and do not emend the text.

in verse 26 rather than one double clause line, since both options fit within the syntactic constraints.

I read 26c as a single clause line of four constituents. The first prosodic word and first constituent is the verb נִפְלְאַתָה,[27] followed by its subject אַהֲבָתְךָ, the second prosodic word and constituent. The third prosodic word and constituent is the PP adjunct לִי, while the fourth constituent is the comparative מִן phrase, a prosodic word consisting of the two orthographic words מֵאַהֲבַת and נָשִׁים bound by cliticization.

3.1.21 2 Samuel 1:27a

אֵיךְ נָפְלוּ גִבּוֹרִים				27a
ʾêk-nāpəlû	*gibbôrîm*	*ʾêk*	*nāpəlû* *gibbôrîm*	Translit
UNIT1	UNIT2	PW1	PW2 PW3	Word level
C1	C2	–	C1 C2	Const Level
V	S	EXCL	V S	Synt Role
The warriors have fallen.		[The] mighty have fallen!		Trans
3.3.2 Single independent verbal clause line of two constituents. VS		*Single independent verbal clause line of 2C, 3PW*		Line Type

Line 27a is a repetition of 19b.

3.1.22 2 Samuel 1:27b

וַיֹּאבְדוּ כְּלֵי מִלְחָמָה:				27b
wayyōʾbədû	*kəlê–milḥāmâ*	*wayyōʾbədû*	*kəlê milḥāmâ*	Translit
UNIT1	UNIT2 UNIT3	PW1	PW2	Word level
C1	C2	C1	C2	Const Level
		V	S	Synt Role
The instruments of war have vanished		The weapons of war are destroyed.		Trans
3.3.2 Single independent verbal clause line of two constituents. VS		*Single independent verbal clause line of 2C, 2PW*		Line Type

[27] The morphology of this form is anomalous. Driver explains, "The normal form would be נִפְלְאָה; but the case is one of those in which a ל״א verb follows the analogy of a verb ל״ה" (Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text,* 238-239).

O'Connor and I both read the final line of the poem as a single independent verbal clause line of two constituents. We differ in our prosodic word (unit) count: O'Connor reads כְּלֵי מִלְחָמָה as a two-unit constituent whereas I read כְּלֵי מִלְחָמָה as two orthographic words joined by cliticization to form one prosodic word.

3.2 Results of Line Analysis Comparison

There are two key points that arise from the analysis presented above. First, the Revised and Extended *HVS* Model produces lineation consistent with (but not identical to) O'Connor's Syntactic Description of 2 Sam 1:19-27. The second point is related to the first: a working principle that maximizes the number of prosodic words and constituents per line shores up a weakness in O'Connor's approach (i.e., that every line could be broken down further), and produces a more compelling lineation of verses 22-23 of David's lament. I consider each of these points below.

3.2.1 Lineation Consistencies and Divergences

O'Connor's analysis of 2 Sam 1:19-27 yields 30 lines while mine yields 26. In twelve lines,[28] we discern the same line type even if we reckon the prosodic words (units) differently, and in two lines, our analyses are identical.[29]

Our lineation diverges in verse 26 because O'Connor emends the text and I do not. Once we remove the emended text from the line count, O'Connor's and my analyses agree in approximately half of the lines.[30] Our analyses diverge primarily because O'Connor reckons

[28] Lines 19b, 20b, 20c, 20d, 22b, 22c, 23a, 24b, 24c, 25a, 27a, 27b.

[29] The identical analyses are 20a, 23b.

[30] O'Connor counts 30 lines; once we remove the 3 lines of verse 26 on which we cannot agree due to emendation, O'Connor has 27 lines. I count 26 lines, and since I read all of verse 26 as one line, once that verse is removed, I have 25 lines. Of those 25 (MPOC) / 25 (RK) lines, we agree on 14. Fourteen of twenty-seven is approximately 52%; fourteen of twenty-five lines is 56%.

vocatives as predicators, which means he discerns more double clause lines (e.g., 19a; 21a, b; 24a; 26a, b).

The fact that O'Connor's and my lineation is remarkably similar even when our analyses differ suggests that the constraints O'Connor identified accurately describe the conventions of BH poetic lineation. The fact that our lineation is similar even though I have revised constraints 1-3 and eliminated constraints 4-6 suggests that the foundation O'Connor laid in *HVS* is sound even when his generative framework is updated and the constraints are streamlined and revised.

3.2.2 Maximizing the Number of Prosodic Words and Constituents per Line: A Working Principle of Poetry

O'Connor and I come to the same lineation of the poem with the exception of lines 22a, 23c, and 26c. Our diverging lineation in 26c must be set aside due to our differing approaches to emending the text, but our divergences in verses 22 and 23 highlight the importance of having a working principle that maximizes the number of prosodic words and constituents per line.

In 22a O'Connor discerns 2 one-constituent lines rather than 1 two-constituent line even though both options are permissible within the syntactic constraints. Line 23c is a similar case; O'Connor breaks the text into 2 single independent verbal clause lines rather than 1 double clause line. While O'Connor does not provide a rationale for these decisions, I have presented a working principle that maximizes the number of prosodic words and constituents in each line within the syntactic constraints. Such a working principle is valuable because: a) it prevents the possibility of an absurd number of extremely short lines and a preponderance of enjambment;[31] b) it provides clear guidelines for applying the Revised and Extended *HVS* Model to the analysis of poetry; and c) it can be shown to produce a more compelling reading of the poem. On this last point, let us take verses 22 and 23 as an example. In Table 7, O'Connor's lineation is presented on the left, and my lineation is presented on the right.

[31] This is a weakness Kugel identified; see §2.2 above.

Table 7. Comparing Line Analyses of 2 Sam 1:22-23

The Standard Description in *HVS*		The Revised and Extended *HVS* Model	
מִדַּם חֲלָלִים	22a	מִדַּם חֲלָלִים מֵחֵלֶב גִּבּוֹרִים	22a
מֵחֵלֶב גִּבּוֹרִים	22b	קֶשֶׁת יְהוֹנָתָן לֹא נָשׁוֹג אָחוֹר	22b
קֶשֶׁת יְהוֹנָתָן לֹא נָשׁוֹג אָחוֹר	22c	וְחֶרֶב שָׁאוּל לֹא תָשׁוּב רֵיקָם:	22c
וְחֶרֶב שָׁאוּל לֹא תָשׁוּב רֵיקָם:	22d		
שָׁאוּל וִיהוֹנָתָן הַנֶּאֱהָבִים וְהַנְּעִימִם	23a	שָׁאוּל וִיהוֹנָתָן הַנֶּאֱהָבִים וְהַנְּעִימִם	23a
בְּחַיֵּיהֶם וּבְמוֹתָם לֹא נִפְרָדוּ	23b	בְּחַיֵּיהֶם וּבְמוֹתָם לֹא נִפְרָדוּ	23b
מִנְּשָׁרִים קַלּוּ	23c	מִנְּשָׁרִים קַלּוּ מֵאֲרָיוֹת גָּבֵרוּ:	23c
מֵאֲרָיוֹת גָּבֵרוּ:	23d		

O'Connor's analysis yields two very short lines at the beginning of verse 22 and end of verse 23, with longer lines in the middle. By contrast, the Revised and Extended *HVS* Model yields three balanced lines per verse. O'Connor's lineation of verse 22 requires the reader to puzzle over how 22a and 22b relate to one another *and* to 22c. By contrast, the Revised and Extended *HVS* Model yields a lineation that makes the enjambment of 22a and b easily identifiable.

The maximizing principle in the Revised and Extended *HVS* Model produces three lines in verse 23, each with four orthographic words. The clauses extolling Saul and Jonathan's swiftness in 23c are presented one after another in rapid succession; the structure of the line conveys its semantic force. By contrast, O'Connor's lineation slows the pace of the poem by placing each clause on its own line, undermining the sense of rapidity evoked by the clauses.

The healthy percentage of agreement between O'Connor's and my analyses demonstrates that the revisions I made to O'Connor's concept of "unit" and "constituent" do not fundamentally alter the efficacy of his approach to lineal analysis. That being said, the Revised and Extended *HVS* Model aligns with recent research in generative grammar (making it more accurate) and streamlines the number of constraints (making it easier to apply). Finally, I have argued that the maximizing principle provides more a compelling lineation of this poem than O'Connor's Syntactic Description. In §3.3 I present a comparison of our interlineal analyses.

3.3 Comparing Interlineal Analyses of 2 Sam 1:19-27

With respect to interlineal analysis, O'Connor's goal was "to take apart the construct of parallelism and examine its parts" in order to provide a more precise syntactic description of the relationship between verse lines.[32] O'Connor's tropes are explicitly "designed to account for the ordering force Lowth called parallelism."[33]

In §3.3.1 I explain O'Connor's characterization of 2 Sam 1:19-27's use of tropes, noting the strengths and weaknesses of this approach. Because the tropes are interlineal in character (word-level tropes not withstanding), I present 2-5 lines of O'Connor's analysis at a time. In §3.3.2 I present an interlineal analysis of 2 Sam 1:19-27 based on the appositive style of BH poetry. Finally, I compare the efficacy of each approach.

3.3.1 BH Verse Tropes and O'Connor's Interlinear Analysis

O'Connor describes poetic tropes in detail in chapters 4-9 of *HVS*. O'Connor classifies the tropes with category numbers in the same way he classifies line types. For example, line 20a is presented thus:[34]

20a *'l-tgydw bgt*
Do not say so in Gath-Ashqelon,
[3.3.4 5.1.5 6.1.1 9.1]

To understand O'Connor's analysis, the reader must read the pertinent sections listed beneath his translation. The first section number listed is a line classification. In this case, 2 Sam 1:20a belongs to category *3.3.4 Single independent verbal clause lines of two constituents. VP.* Each section number after the line classification relates to tropes. In this example, the section numbers indicate that 2 Sam 1:20a utilizes the word-level trope of "geographical binomination" (5.1.5), the line-level trope of "matching" (6.1.1), and the supralinear-level trope of "clause mixing" (9.1).

---

[32] O'Connor, *HVS,* 87.

[33] O'Connor, *HVS,* 88.

[34] O'Connor, *HVS,* 230.

In my presentation of O'Connor's interlinear analysis below, I include the section numbers that refer to the tropes, as in the example from line 20a above, and the full section title. Underneath the table, I explain how the lines exhibit the tropes O'Connor has cited.

3.3.1.1 2 Samuel 1:19a, b

הַצְּבִי יִשְׂרָאֵל עַל־בָּמוֹתֶיךָ חָלָל	19a
The Gazelle, Israel, was pierced on your heights. *3.4.20 Double clause line of four constituents*	
אֵיךְ נָפְלוּ גִבּוֹרִים:	19b
The warriors have fallen. *3.3.2 Single independent verbal clause line of two constituents. VS*	

O'Connor does not list any word-, line-, or supralinear-level tropes for 19a or 19b; he provides only line-level analysis. As a result, it is not clear how he understands the relationship between the first two lines of the poem. This is an example of O'Connor's tendency in *HVS* to be more attentive to the syntax of the line than to interlineal relationships.[35]

A Standard Description of this poem would read these lines as synonymously parallel, with הצבי parallel to גבורים and חלל parallel to נפלו. For example, in his discussion of the textual difficulties presented by צבי, Terence Kelven writes,

> The best argument in support of 'beauty' is the sense of the line itself. Sebî is in parallelism with 'the mighty,' gibbôrîm. As the lament develops we know that the mighty are Saul and Jonathan, and they are synonyms with the sebî. The parallelism of the first line confirms that the word is a noun that invokes the presence of the two men about whom the poem is written.[36]

[35] See §2.2 above, especially note 163 in that section. O'Connor lists no tropes for 326 of the 1225 lines of his poetic corpus. This suggests that the tropes are an inadequate tool for analyzing interlineal relationships.

[36] Terence Kleven, "Reading Hebrew Poetry: David's Lament Over Saul and Jonathan (2 Sam 1:17-27)", *Proceedings: Eastern Great Lakes and Midwest Biblical Societies* 11 (1991): pp. 53-54.

Because this verse is so frequently emended, there is a dearth of examples like Kleven's above. For example, Gervitz emends the text so that it reads, "Raise up a dirge over thy bodies of slain: / How the heroes have fallen!" (*Patterns in the Early Poetry of Israel* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963], 81), while Cross and Freedman assert that vv. 19, 25 should match v. 27's "How have the warriors fallen / Perished the weapons of war!" (*Studies in Ancient Yahwistic Poetry,* 15).

O'Connor himself argues that in order for a Syntactic Description to replace the Standard Description, the Syntactic Description "will have to delimit phenomena previously included under the headings of parallelism and metre, and demarcate relations among these phenomena."[37] In these two specific lines, O'Connor did not cite any tropes that account for the "parallelistic" phenomena. I will show how the Revised and Extended *HVS* Model approaches these lines in §3.3.2.1.

Biblical commentators tend not to discuss the type[s] of parallelism exhibited in the poem, opting to discuss textual difficulties, the meanings of words, and how the poem fits into the larger narrative structure of the books of Samuel instead (e.g., Anderson 1989, Auld 2011, Long 2020). Many of the handbooks on BH poetry (e.g., Alter 1985, Kugel 1981) do not address 2 Sam 1:19-27 at all; many others (e.g., Berlin 2008, Petersen and Richards 1992, Gillingham 1994) use one verse or another as an example of a given poetic feature, but do not engage with this poem at length.

[37] O'Connor, *HVS,* 54.

3.3.1.2 2 Samuel 1:20a-d

אַל־תַּגִּידוּ בְגַת	20a
Do not say so in Gath-Ashqelon, *3.3.4 Single independent verbal clause line of two constituents. VP* *5.1.5 Word-Level Coloration: Geographical binomination* *6.1.1 Line-Level Matching: Independent verbal clause lines of two constituents* *9.1 Supralinear-Level Clause Mixing*	
אַל־תְּבַשְּׂרוּ בְּחוּצֹת אַשְׁקְלוֹן	20b
Do not give out the news in Gath-Ashqelon's streets, *3.3.4 Single independent verbal clause line of two constituents. VP* *5.1.5 Word-Level Coloration: Geographical binomination* *6.1.1 Line-Level Matching: Independent verbal clause lines of two constituents*	
פֶּן־תִּשְׂמַחְנָה בְּנוֹת פְּלִשְׁתִּים	20c
Lest pagan Philistine women rejoice, *3.3.22 Single dependent verbal clause line of two constituents; Finite clauses, purpose, exceptive and conditional clauses.* *5.3.6 Word Level Coloration: Adjectival combination* *6.1.7 Line-Level Matching: Dependent verbal clause lines* *9.1 Supralinear-Level Clause Mixing*	
פֶּן־תַּעֲלֹזְנָה בְּנוֹת הָעֲרֵלִים׃	20d
Lest pagan Philistine women exult. *3.3.22 Single dependent verbal clause line of two constituents; Finite, purpose, exceptive & conditional clauses.* *5.3.6 Word Level Coloration: Adjectival combination* *6.1.7 Line-Level Matching: Dependent verbal clause lines* *9.1 Supralinear-Level Clause Mixing*	

O'Connor uses the term *coloration* to refer to "words which constitute a single phrase in ordinary language [that] are split apart and the parts are set in 'parallel' slots."[38] In *binomination*, the

[38] O'Connor, *HVS,* 112. The phrase "ordinary language" is problematic given that a key component of O'Connor's argument is that an accurate description of BH verse ought to be based on how the language works "normally": "A description, to be adequate for a subsystem of the language [i.e., poetry], must refer only to the resources of the language. Just as the description is limited by our knowledge of the grammar, so the grammar as we know it will check the description" (*HVS,* 67). That being said, in this context, O'Connor seems to be using the term "ordinary language" to refer to prose.

The concept O'Connor calls "binomination" does not originate with him; according to Holladay (1970), Melamed (1961) was the first to identify "the break-up of stereotyped phrases" as an artistic device in BH poetry, and Dahood

phrase is a name of a person,[39] while *geographical binomination* refers to the name of a city, state, or geographical region. O'Connor argues that lines 20a, b exhibit the word-level trope of geographical binomination. In this case, the geographical dyad is "Gath-Ashqelon," with גַּת and אַשְׁקְלוֹן placed at the end of lines 20a and 20b respectively. O'Connor posits a connection between "Gath-Ashqelon" in 2 Sam 1:20a, b and "Gaza-Ashqelon" in Zeph 2:4a, b: "The bipartite titles refer to the whole geopolitical organization known as Philistia. The alternance [*sic*] in the titles themselves is probably conditioned historically."[40] O'Connor also identifies coloration in lines 20c, d in the form of adjectival combination. In this case, the word dyad is פְּלִשְׁתִּים הָעֲרֵלִים, with the noun פְּלִשְׁתִּים in 20c, preceding its adjective, הָעֲרֵלִים, in 20d. These orthographic words are placed at the end of each line in parallel slots.

In addition to featuring the word-level trope of coloration, lines 20a-d include examples of the line-level trope of matching. Lines 20a, b are each independent verbal clause lines of two constituents. Note that in order for the lines to "match," they must have the same number of constituents, but apparently not the same number of units (20b has 3 units while 20a has two). The word order of lines 20a, b also match. Lines 20c, d also exhibit line-level matching; they are both dependent verbal clause lines of two constituents and three units.

In addition to the word-level trope of coloration and the line-level trope of matching, lines 20a-d exemplify the supralinear trope of mixing. O'Connor explains mixing thus:

> In this trope, lines which are syntactically dependent on main clauses are not in direct contiguity with them. The domain is always four lines and there is only one break in the syntax: if *a* and *b* main clause and *c* and *d* are dependent line units, these form, from a pair of base sentences *acd* and *bcd,* a surface structure *abcd*; the *a* member is isolated from the line units dependent on it … The basic form of clause mixing includes two main clauses and two subordinate clauses, in that order; both the subordinate clauses modify both the main clauses.[41]

went on to catalogue many such phrases in his Psalms commentaries (Dahood 1965, 1968, 1970).

[39] O'Connor, *HVS,* 112.

[40] O'Connor, *HVS,* 376.

[41] O'Connor, *HVS,* 421.

This description of verse lines being dependent on multiple other lines seems unnecessarily complex. I argue in §3.3.2.1 that enjambment better accounts for the syntactic relationship between 20b, c, and apposition better accounts for the syntactic relationship between 20c, d.

3.3.1.3 2 Samuel 1:21a-d

הָרֵי בַגִּלְבֹּעַ אַל־טָל	21a
Hills, no dew in Gilboa. *3.4.9 Double clause line of three constituents. Independent null copula clauses with vocatives.* *6.1.4 Line-Level Matching: Double clause lines with vocatives*	
וְאַל־מָטָר עֲלֵיכֶם וּשְׂדֵי תְרוּמֹת	21b
No rain on you, lofty fields. *3.4.9 Double clause line of three constituents. Independent verbless clauses with vocatives* *6.1.4 Line-Level Matching: Double clause lines with vocatives*	
כִּי שָׁם נִגְעַל מָגֵן גִּבּוֹרִים	21c
There the warriors' leader was disgraced. *3.3.45 Single independent verbal clause line of three constituents. AVS* *4.1.2 Word-Level Repetition: Nomina with discontinuity in constituent position*	
מָגֵן שָׁאוּל בְּלִי מָשִׁיחַ בַּשָּׁמֶן׃	21d
Leader Saul was anointed with oil. *3.3.68 Single null copula clause line of three constituents. Predicate of two constituents.* *4.1.2 Word-Level Repetition: Nomina with discontinuity in constituent position*	

Lines 21a, b are both categorized as double clause lines of three constituents. O'Connor calls this "line-level matching" even though the constituents are not in the same order: in 21a, the vocative is the first constituent in the line, while in 21b, the vocative is the last constituent. What counts for O'Connor is whether the line type is the same, not whether the constituents exhibit the same word order.

Lines 21c, d demonstrate the word-level trope of repetition in which the repeated element's position is discontinuous between the lines: מָגֵן is part of the third constituent in 21c, and part of the first constituent in 21d.

O'Connor's analysis draws attention to the similar syntactic structure of lines 21a, b, and highlights the repetition of מָגֵן in lines 21c, d, but lacks a description of the interpretive significance of these syntactic similarities.

3.3.1.4 2 Samuel 1:22a-d, 23a

מִדַּם חֲלָלִים	22a
From the blood of wounded warriors, *3.5.5 One constituent phrase line* *5.3.2 Word-Level Coloration: Construct combination without repetition. Two member construct chains.* *6.1.8 Line-Level Matching: Phrase-clause and phrase lines* *9.2 Supralinear-level Phrase Mixing*	
מֵחֵלֶב גִּבּוֹרִים	22b
From the flesh of wounded warriors, *3.5.5 One constituent phrase line* *5.3.2 Word-Level Coloration: Construct combination without repetition. Two member construct chains.* *6.1.8 Line-Level Matching: Phrase-clause and phrase lines* *9.2 Supralinear-level Phrase Mixing*	
קֶשֶׁת יְהוֹנָתָן לֹא נָשׁוֹג אָחוֹר	22c
Jonathan-Saul's bow did not turn back, *3.3.42 Single independent verbal clause line of three constituents. SVA* *4.3 Word-Level Repetition: Non-local repetition on common ground* *5.2.1 Word-Level Coloration: Simple coordination* *6.1.2 Line-Level Matching: Independent verbal clause lines of three constituents* *9.2 Supralinear-Level Mixing: Phrase Mixing*	
וְחֶרֶב שָׁאוּל לֹא תָשׁוּב רֵיקָם׃	22d
Jonathan-Saul's sword was not set up clean. *3.3.42 Single independent verbal clause line of three constituents. SVA* *4.1.1 Word-Level Repetition: Nomina with continuity in constituent position* *4.3 Word-Level Repetition: Non-local repetition on common ground* *5.2.1 Word-Level Coloration: Simple Coordination* *6.1.2 Line-Level Matching: Independent verbal clause lines of three constituents* *9.2 Supralinear-Level Mixing: Phrase mixing*	
שָׁאוּל וְיהוֹנָתָן הַנֶּאֱהָבִים וְהַנְּעִימִם	23a
Saul and Jonathan were loved and lovely *3.3.24 Single null copula line of two constituents. Predicate-Subject* *4.1.1 Word-Level Repetition: Nomina with continuity in constituent position* *4.3 Word-Level Repetition: Non-local repetition on common ground*	

Lines 22a-d and 23a are rich with word-, line-, and supralinear tropes. In lines 22a, b, O'Connor identifies word-level coloration in the form of construct combination. O'Connor argues that a cliticized phrase (חַלְלֵי גִבוֹרִים) has been divided between the two lines.[42] O'Connor reconstructs the cliticized phrase in both lines of his translation to make the construct combination explicit. However, he does not suggest that this rendering is the best possible translation: "In these cases we seek to be clear in glossing the examples but nothing more; we do not wish to discuss how these aspects of grammar should be represented in translation."[43]

Lines 22c, d, exhibit simple coordination of the names Jonathan and Saul. O'Connor explains, "The trope of coordination (5.2) can involve names … In these cases, the names designate not one individual but the two parts of a basic pair."[44] This "basic pair" appears together in the next line, 23a.

In lines 22c, d and 23a, O'Connor notes word-level, non-local repetition on common ground (4.3). O'Connor explains, "Non-continuous repetitions with identity of grammatical form and function may be separated by lines which are themselves joined together by repetition; there may be, that is, common territory between the parts of a repetition."[45] In these three lines, the repeated elements are the names שָׁאוּל and יְהוֹנָתָן:

22c	*qešet–***yəhônātān**	*lōʾ–nāśôg ʾāḥôr*
22d	*wəḥereb–***šāʾûl**	*lōʾ–tāšûb rêqām*
23a	**šāʾûl–wîhônātān**	*hanneʾĕhābîm–wəhannəʿîmim*

O'Connor argues that in the simplest cases, "One line contains two terms available for repetition, one of which is repeated in an adjacent line and the other of which is repeated on line further away. The middle of these three is the common ground for the repetition contained in the first

[42] O'Connor uses the word "construct" rather than "cliticized."

[43] O'Connor, *HVS,* 115.

[44] O'Connor, *HVS,* 114. O'Connor expands on this in §5.2.1: "There are few couples in Israelite story, the basic resources of which are geared to presenting the crowd and its lone leaders. Two of the few couples do appear as such in our texts. One includes *yhwntn-wšʾl,* the flower of the Saulide dynasty, father and son, spoken of by the dynasty's destroyer in 2 S 1:22cd."

[45] O'Connor, *HVS,* 366.

and the third lines."[46] In this case, the line containing both of the repeated terms (*šāʾûl–wîhônātān*) is 23a, the third in the sequence. *šāʾûl* is repeated in the adjacent line 22d, whereas *yəhônātān* is repeated one line away, in 22c. The position of *šāʾûl* in 22d and 23a is contiguous as the first constituent in each line (*HVS* §4.1.1).

Lines 22a-d also evidence line-level tropes. Lines 22a, b have matching syntactic structure, each being a one-constituent phrase line. The syntactic structure of lines 22c and 22d also match, each being an independent verbal clause line of three constituents with SVA word order (*HVS* §3.3.42; §6.1.2).

Finally, lines 22a-d exemplify the supralinear trope of phrase mixing. "In this trope, lines which are syntactically dependent on main clauses are not in direct contiguity with them."[47] In verse 20, O'Connor detected clause mixing in which 20a, b represented the main clause, and 20c, d were syntactically dependent on them. Here in verse 22, the phrase lines in 22a, b (*middam–ḥălālîm / mēḥēleb–gibbôrîm*) are dependent on the clauses in 22c, d (*qešet–yəhônātān lōʾ–nāśôgʾāḥôr / wəḥereb–šāʾûl lōʾ–tāšûb rêqām*).

Lines 22a-d, 23a: Critique

O'Connor's analysis evidences a close and careful reading of these lines. I am not convinced by O'Connor's positing of a construct relationship between חַלְלִים and גִּבּוֹרִים because the cliticization is not morphologically marked. The idea that Saul and Jonathan form a word pair that is separated in lines 22b, c is more convincing than other examples of binomination because of extralinguistic factors, namely, that Saul and Jonathan are father and son, king and crown-prince.

With respect to the word-level repetition in 22b, c and 23a, there is no denying the existence of such repetition; the same goes for the line structure matching. However, it is not clear what interpretive value this information has, or if the phrase matching is what led O'Connor to render מִנְּשָׁרִים קַלּוּ מֵאֲרָיוֹת גָּבֵרוּ as two lines rather than one.

---

[46] O'Connor, *HVS,* 366.

[47] O'Connor, *HVS,* 421.

With respect to phrase-mixing, what O'Connor describes both here and in verse 20 is enjambment; the phrases in 22 a and b are dependent on the main clause in 22c. Rather than referring to this phenomenon as a trope, the Revised and Extended *HVS* Model describes it as enjambment, a type of non-apposition (see §3.3.2.3).

3.3.1.5 2 Samuel 1:23b-d

בְּחַיֵּיהֶם וּבְמוֹתָם לֹא נִפְרָדוּ	23b
In their lives and deaths they were not divided. *3.3.8 Single independent verbal clause line of two constituents. PV* *6.2.1 Line-level Matching: Independent verbal clause lines of two constituents*	
מִנְּשָׁרִים קַלּוּ	23c
They were faster than eagles. *3.3.8 Single independent verbal clause line of two constituents. PV* *6.2.1 Line-level Matching: Independent verbal clause lines of two constituents*	
מֵאֲרָיוֹת גָּבֵרוּ	23d
They were stronger than lions. *3.3.8 Single independent verbal clause line of two constituents. PV* *6.2.1 Line-level Matching: Independent verbal clause lines of two constituents*	

All three of these lines are single independent verbal clause lines of two constituents with PV word order and are therefore examples of the line-level trope of matching.

Lines 23b-d: Critique

O'Connor's analysis makes the similarity in line structure in this verse explicit. While proponents of the Standard Description may note the "parallelism" of the מִן phrases, fewer notice that line 23b also shares a similar syntactic structure.

In my lineal analysis above, I asked why O'Connor chose to lineate 23c, d as 2 single-clause lines rather than 1 double-clause line. It is possible that the line-level "tropes" led him in that direction, but O'Connor does not explain the interpretative import of these lines' identical

syntactic structure, so we cannot be sure.

3.3.1.6 2 Samuel 1:24a-c

בְּנוֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶל־שָׁאוּל בְּכֶינָה	24a
Israelite women, weep for Saul *3.4.6 Double clause lines of three constituents. Independent verbal clauses with vocatives.* *8.2.2 Supralinear Syntactic Dependency: Phrase-clause lines and dependent clause lines*	
הַמַּלְבִּשְׁכֶם שָׁנִי עִם־עֲדָנִים	24b
Who dressed you in scarlet with woven jewelry, *3.3.63 Single dependent verbal clause lines of three constituents. Nonfinite clauses, participial clauses.* *6.1.7 Line-Level Matching: Dependent verbal clause lines* *8.2.2 Supralinear Syntactic Dependency: Phrase-clause lines and dependent clause lines*	
הַמַּעֲלֶה עֲדִי זָהָב עַל לְבוּשְׁכֶן	24c
Who set gold woven jewelry on your dresses. *3.3.63 Single dependent verbal clause lines of three constituents. Nonfinite clauses, participial clauses.* *6.1.7 Line-Level Matching: Dependent verbal clause lines* *8.2.2 Supralinear Syntactic Dependency: Phrase-clause lines and dependent clause lines*	

In this set of lines, the main clause is אֶל־שָׁאוּל בְּכֶינָה, with 24b and 24c dependent on it (*HVS* §8.2.2). Lines 24b, c also demonstrate the syntactic trope of matching because they are both dependent verbal clause lines of three constituents.

Lines 24a-c: Critique

A simpler explanation of supralinear dependency is enjambment, which I explain in §3.3.2.5.

3.3.1.7 2 Samuel 1:25a, b

אֵיךְ נָפְלוּ גִבֹּרִים בְּתוֹךְ הַמִּלְחָמָה	25a
The warriors have fallen in war. *3.3.28 Single independent verbal clause line of three constituents. VSP* *6.1.2 Line-Level Matching: Independent verbal clause lines of three constituents*	
יְהוֹנָתָן עַל־בָּמוֹתֶיךָ חָלָל׃	25b
Jonathan was pierced on your heights *3.3.54 Single independent verbal clause lines of three constituents. SPV* *6.1.2 Line-Level Matching: Independent verbal clause lines of three constituents*	

Lines 25a, b exhibit line-level matching because they are each single independent verbal clause lines of three constituents.

3.3.1.8 2 Samuel 1:26a-e

צַר־לִי עָלֶיךָ אָחִי	26a
It is hard for me because of you, my Brother Jonathan *3.4.20 Double clause line of four constituents* *4.1.2 Word-Level Repetition: Nomina with discontinuity in constituent position* *5.1.3 Word-Level Coloration: Personal binomination*	
יְהוֹנָתָן נָעַמְתָּ לִי מְאֹד	26b
My Brother Jonathan, you were very good for me *3.4.20 Double clause line of four constituents* *4.1.2 Word-Level Repetition: Nomina with discontinuity in constituent position* *5.1.3 Word-Level Coloration: Personal binomination*	
נִפְלְאַתָךְ ... נפלא אתה	26c
You were a wonder *3.3.25 Single null copula clause line of two constituents. Predicate-Subject* *6.2.3 Line-Level Matching: Independent verbless clause lines*	
אַהֲבָתְךָ לִי	26d
Your love was mine 3.3.24 *Single null copula clause line of two constituents. Subject-Predicate.* *4.1.2 Word-Level Repetition: Nomina with discontinuity in constituent position* *6.2.3 Line-Level Matching: Independent verbless clause lines*	
מֵאַהֲבַת נָשִׁים ... מ אהבת נשים	26e
What is the love of women? 3.3.25 *Single null copula clause of two constituents. Predicate-Subject* *4.1.2 Word-Level Repetition: Nomina with discontinuity in constituent position*	

O'Connor posits that אָחִי in 25a and יְהוֹנָתָן in 25b are an example of word-level personal binomination. Personal binomination is a naming/titling convention.[48] O'Connor explains, "In the

[48] O'Connor writes, "The naming and titling of public persons are inextricably bound together, in much the same way as the personal and the divinely endowed royal persons are in the English tradition of the King's Two Bodies, brought to bear on the problems of ancient royal ideology by Mendenhall … Unlike Cromwell's parliament, we do not have to pull apart what resists separation and may fall back on intuitive distinctions between proper names and

case of 2 S 1:26ab, in which the title precedes the proper name, the title's force can be overlooked easily: *ʾḥy-yhwntn* 'my "Brother," Jonathan.' The relationship between David and Jonathan warrants a technical reading of the term *ʾḥ* 'brother,' in view both of their covenanting and of David's later protection of Jonathan's son."[49]

The second word-level trope O'Connor detects in these lines is repetition in 26a, b:

26a *ṣar* **lî** *ʿālêkā ʾāḥî*
26b *yəhônātān nāʿamtā* **lî** *məʾōd*

The repetition has "discontinuity in constituent position" because *lî* is in the second position in 26a and the third position in 26b. The word-level trope of repetition is also used in lines 26d, e:

26d ***ʾahăbātkā*** *lî*
26e *mâ* ***ʾahăba****t–nāšîm*

This repetition also has discontinuity in constituent position because *ʾahăbat* is in the first position in 26d and the second position in 26e. Lines 26c-e are all independent null copula clause lines, and are therefore an example of line-level matching.

Lines 26a-e: Critique

I am not convinced that אהי יהונתן should be viewed as a case of personal binomination. Some of the examples of binomination O'Connor provides in *HVS* §5.1.3 seem plausible (e.g., "Balaq, King of Moab" [Num 23:7ab], "Balaq, Sippor's child" [Num 23:18ab], "Baraq, Abinoam's child" [Judg 5:12de]), but "My Brother Jonathan" less so. Part of the difficulty in judging the matter is that there are no clear syntactic criteria for identifying personal binomination. By contrast, the Revised and Extended *HVS* Model understands אחי as an anchor for its appositive of identification (יהונתן) in the following line. This is not a broken up phrase ("my brother Jonathan"), but rather a means by which the poet identifies to whom אחי refers while alternating between the proper noun and the term of endearment (יהונתן in 25b, אחי in 26a, יהונתן in 26b).

titles" (O'Connor, *HVS,* 374).

[49] O'Connor, *HVS,* 375.

I fail to see the importance of repetition as a “trope” in BH verse. It does not seem to have syntactic significance, so it is unclear why special note should be taken of it in syntactic analysis. Furthermore, O'Connor does not explain the interpretative significance of repetition, whether the repetition is continuous or discontinuous in position.

3.3.1.9 2 Samuel 1:27a-b

אֵיךְ נָפְלוּ גִבּוֹרִים	27a
The warriors have fallen. *3.3.2 Single independent verbal clause line of two constituents. VS*	
וַיֹּאבְדוּ כְּלֵי מִלְחָמָה׃	27b
The instruments of war have vanished *3.3.2 Single independent verbal clause line of two constituents. VS* *6.1.1 (with 27a) Line-Level Matching: Independent verbal clause lines of two constituents*	

The only trope O'Connor notes in 27a, b is line-level matching: 27a and b are both independent verbal clause lines of two constituents with VS word order.

3.3.1.10 Conclusion

In §3.3.1 I explained O'Connor's interlinear analysis, which identifies the use of word-, line-, and supra-linear tropes. The identification of word-level tropes encourages a close and careful reading of the poem and consideration of the relationships between words, especially words that O'Connor calls word dyads (trad. “word pairs”). Taking note of line-level tropes draws the reader's attention to syntactic similarities between lines, while consideration of supralinear dynamics illuminates the syntactic relationship between clauses.

O'Connor's approach to Hebrew verse represents a significant step toward a syntactic reading of biblical poetry, but more work remains to be done. Holmstedt writes:

> What is deeply surprising about these “tropes” in O'Connor's otherwise brilliant work is that of the six, only two, *gapping* and *dependency,* are recognized syntactic phenomena.

> *Repetition,* which operates between phrases of all levels, not just words, is a general non-linguistic term; syntactically, apposition is the operation that produces repetition. *Coloration* is essentially a variation on repetition, in which two non-identical words are related by virtue of the interlineal relationship and combine to reference an entity or quality that is equal to or greater than the sum of the parts. Once again, the syntactic phenomenon that captures the relationships O'Connor describes under coloration is apposition, though with a twist that I will elaborate below. My discussion of apposition will also demonstrate how the *matching* of lines may also be syntactically analyzed. As for *mixing,* in which two successive independent clauses/lines are followed by two subordinate clauses that O'Connor claims 'depend on both independent clauses,' I confess I consider this to be a misguided notion and that there is no reason to link the subordinate clauses with anything but the immediately preceding clause.[50]

O'Connor moved poetic analysis away from the blunt instrument of synonymous, antithetical, and synonymous parallelism in an effort to provide a more precise syntactic description of the relationship between lines. While his approach is in many ways more precise, O'Connor did not fully realize his goal of articulating an alternative syntactic description of the phenomena traditionally understood as parallelism. In §3.3.2, I utilize Holmstedt's appositive approach to interlineal analysis in an attempt to move O'Connor's vision forward.

3.3.2 The Appositive Style of Hebrew Poetry

To present my interlineal analysis, I provide short sections of 2 Samuel 1:19-27 in a 2-column table. The column on the left provides the lineal analysis from §3.1 and the column on the right provides interlineal analysis. My interlineal analysis assumes that the relationship between lines reflects a binary syntactic choice between apposition and non-apposition. Holmstedt explains it this way:

> Taking O'Connor's (1980 [1997]) analysis to be the most linguistically sound and sufficiently accurate description of the BH poetic line offered, I will add that it is not just the line that is central to defining poetic verse, but constraints upon *the relationship of the lines* reflecting a *binary syntactic choice.* More specifically, I have developed a working hypothesis that interlineal syntax in BH poetry can be reduced to a choice between apposition and non-apposition and that this binary choice has been misunderstood and so mischaracterized as "parallelism."[51]

---

[50] Holmstedt, "Hebrew Poetry and the Appositive Style," 623.

[51] Holmstedt, "Hebrew Poetry and the Appositive Style," 623.

Because this binary choice between apposition and non-apposition is at the heart of the appositive style, in the right-hand column I first state whether the line is in apposition to a preceding line. In cases where the line is in apposition, I identify the semantic category of apposition (reformulation, exemplification, etc.), and in the prose section below the table I explain how the line is characteristic of that type of apposition. If the line is not in apposition to a previous line, I state the nature of the syntactic relationship between the line and the one that precedes it (e.g., the line is enjambed) in the table and explain the relationship between lines in the prose section below the table.

3.3.2.1 2 Samuel 1:19a, b, 20a-d

19a	הַצְּבִי יִשְׂרָאֵל עַל־בָּמוֹתֶיךָ חָלָל	**Non-Apposition – Image 1:** Proclamation of Saul and Jonathan's deaths to Israel
	The beauty, O Israel, upon your high places is a slain thing! *Single clause line of 3C, 4PW*	
19b	אֵיךְ נָפְלוּ גִבּוֹרִים׃	**Apposition –** Reformulation of 19a
	[The] warriors have fallen! *Single independent verbal clause line of 2C, 3PW*	
20a	אַל־תַּגִּידוּ בְגַת	**Non-Apposition – Image 1':** Prohibition of the proclamation of Saul and Jonathan's deaths to the Philistines
	Do not declare [it] in Gath; *Single independent verbal clause line of 2C, 2PW*	
20b	אַל־תְּבַשְּׂרוּ בְּחוּצוֹת אַשְׁקְלוֹן	**Apposition –** Reformulation of 20a
	Do not announce [it] on the streets of Ashkelon *Single independent verbal clause line of 2C, 2PW*	
20c	פֶּן־תִּשְׂמַחְנָה בְּנוֹת פְּלִשְׁתִּים	**Non Apposition –** Enjambment; **Image 1':** Continued prohibition of the proclamation of Saul and Jonathan's deaths to the Philistines
	Lest the Philistine daughters rejoice; *Single dependent verbal clause line of 2C, 2PW; negative result clause.*	
20d	פֶּן־תַּעֲלֹזְנָה בְּנוֹת הָעֲרֵלִים׃	**Apposition –** Intensifying attribution of 20c
	Lest the daughters of the uncircumcised exult. *Single dependent verbal clause line of 2C, 2PW; negative result clause*	

The initial image of the poem is the announcement of Saul and Jonathan's deaths, which is to say, the initial image is a speech-act. Line 19a is the anchor line for 19b, which is an appositive line of reformulation: *The beauty, O Israel, upon your high places is a slain thing!*, in other words, *The mighty have fallen!* As I argued in §3.1.1, צבי *beauty,* is an uncountable noun that refers to Saul and Jonathan as a pair. צבי is reformulated as גבורים [*the*] *warriors* in 19b. The null copula + noun חלל in 19a is reformulated as נפלו in 19b. The exclamatory particle איך in 19b heightens the emotion of the poem.

In 20a the poet shifts from exclamation to exhortation, prohibiting the news of the fallen warriors to be declared in Gath: *Do not declare* [*it*] *in Gath!* The null anaphor [*it*] refers to Image 1, the announcement of the death of the soldiers (19a, b). I have labelled the prohibition in 20a as Image 1' because the referent (i.e., the announcement of the death of the warriors) remains the same, but the shift from indicative to volitional mood in the verbs warrants differentiation from Image 1.

Line 20a is an anchor line for 20b, an appositive line of reformulation. O'Connor indicates that lines 20a, b exhibit the word-level trope of geographical binomination in which the dyad "Gath-Ashqelon" is split, with גַּת and אַשְׁקְלוֹן placed at the end of lines 20a and 20b respectively. However, geographical binomination is not a recognized syntactic phenomenon, whereas apposition is a syntactic phenomenon that explains the relationship between these lines. Holmstedt explains:

> In 2 Sam 1:20, the first appositive line [20b] clarifies that it is not just the Gathites in view, but all Philistines; moreover, the reformulation of הַגִּיד to the verb בִּשַּׂר specifies the context of prohibited utterance to be one of victory news. Since the second line is a reformulation of the first, using clausal apposition, the first subordinate פֶּן clause should be associated not with the closer verb in the appositive clause, תִּבַּשֵּׂרְנָה but with the more distant … main clause verb תַּגִּידוּ.[52]

As a subordinate negative result clause, line 20c is an example of what O'Connor calls "clause mixing," but a simpler syntactic explanation is that 20c is enjambed. O'Connor perceives the trope of coloration in these lines, reading פְּלִשְׁתִּים and עֲרֵלִים as adjectival combination. However, apposition better accounts for the relationship between these words and the lines of

[52] Holmstedt, "Hebrew Poetry and the Appositive Style, n. 32, p. 633.

which they are a part; I suggest that line 20c is an anchor clause and 20d is an appositive of attribution. Holmstedt and Jones explain that "Some appositions of attribution have an intensifying function. The appositive alters the sense of the anchor by strengthening it, qualitatively or quantitatively."[53]

In this case, the sentiment is clear: *Do not declare this news in Philistine … Lest the daughters of Philistine rejoice*, and even worse, *The daughters of the uncircumcised exult!* Holmstedt puts it this way:

> In the second half of 2 Sam 1:20 [20d], the appositive clause uses the verb עזל to heighten the sense of rejoicing indicated by שׂמח [in 20c], and the substantival adjective הָעֲרֵלִים is used derogatorily to reinforce the unseemliness of a religiously unfitting people rejoicing over the death of Yhwh's first chosen king, Saul.[54]

The פֶּן clauses continue to develop Image 1', the prohibition of the proclamation of Saul and Jonathan's deaths to the Philistines. In this case, the image is of Philistine women rejoicing at Israel's downfall.

[53] Holmstedt and Jones, "Apposition in Biblical Hebrew," 36-37.

[54] Holmstedt, "Hebrew Poetry and the Appositive Style, n. 32, p. 633.

3.3.2.2 2 Samuel 1:21a-d

21a	הָרֵי בַגִּלְבֹּעַ אַל־טַל	**Non-Apposition** **Image 2:** David addresses the hills
	Hills in Gilboa, [let there be] no dew [on you]! *Single independent verbal clause lines of 2C, 2 PW*	
21b	וְאַל־מָטָר עֲלֵיכֶם וּשְׂדֵי תְרוּמֹת	**Apposition** – Reformulation of 21a
	[Let there be] no rain upon you, lofty fields! *Single clause line of 3C, 4PW*	
21c	כִּי שָׁם נִגְעַל מָגֵן גִּבּוֹרִים	**Non-Apposition** – Enjambment
	Because there lies rejected the shield of warriors *Single dependent verbal clause line of 3C, 4PW; finite causal clause*	
21d	מָגֵן שָׁאוּל בְּלִי מָשִׁיחַ בַּשָּׁמֶן׃	**Apposition** – Reformulation of 21c
	The shield of Saul is without anointing with oil. *Single dependent verbal clause line of 3C, 4PW; finite causal clause*	

In line 21a, the image of David addressing the hills on which Saul and Jonathan lie slain is introduced. The hills in Gilboa in 21a may be identified with the "high places" in 19a. Verse 21a is the anchor for 21b, an appositive line of reformulation. "In an apposition of reformulation, the appositive is a rewording of the anchor";[55] in 21b, the reformulation extends the prohibition of condensation from טַל *dew* to מָטָר *rain*. The latter NP וּשְׂדֵי תְרוּמֹת , *lofty fields!,* reformulates הָרֵי בַגִּלְבֹּעַ *hills in Gilboa,* to indicate an elevated battlefield.[56] These prohibitions are undergirded by

[55] Holmstedt and Jones, "Apposition in Biblical Hebrew," 34.

[56] Freedman, "The Refrain in David's Lament," 270.

a chiastic structure in which the prohibitions of rain form the center of the two lines (location > prohibition – prohibition < location).

Line 21c is an enjambed (non-appositional) causal clause that makes explicit the reason for the prohibitions in 21a, b: land soiled by death should not be permitted to foster life. In 21a-d, David addresses the hills which are marked by the presence of slain warriors and their weapons, now abandoned on their summit. The reformulation of line 21c in 21d adds a heartbreaking specificity: "the shield of warriors" is not just any warrior's shield, it is Saul's, the once-chosen but now slain king of Israel. Saul's anointing has been superseded by David's; Saul's protective weapon lies rejected alongside Israel's exposed and cut off king.

3.3.2.3 2 Samuel 1:22a-c

22a	מִדַּם חֲלָלִים מֵחֵלֶב גִּבּוֹרִים	**Non-Apposition** – Enjambment
	From the blood of the slain, from the fat of warriors *Phrase line of 1C, 2PW*	
22b	קֶשֶׁת יְהוֹנָתָן לֹא נָשׁוֹג אָחוֹר	**Non-Apposition** – Main Clause for 22a **Image 3:** Living Soldier
	The bow of Jonathan did not turn back; *Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 3PW*	
22c	וְחֶרֶב שָׁאוּל לֹא תָשׁוּב רֵיקָם׃	**Apposition –** Intensifying attribution to 22b
	The sword of Saul did not return empty. *Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 3PW*	

The non-appositional line in 22a marks a new direction in the poem. At first glance, the reader/listener might assume מִדַּם חֲלָלִים מֵחֵלֶב גִּבּוֹרִים refers to the blood of Israel's warriors, but the next enjambed line (22b) makes clear that the blood being referred to is blood spilled by

Jonathan and Saul before their deaths. The image of the valiant Israelite soldier in 22b is Image 3. Line 22b serves as the anchor for the following line, which I read as an appositive of intensifying attribution:[57] it is not only Jonathan, the king's son, who fought valiantly (22b), but Saul, the king himself (22c); the warriors fought valiantly not only with long-range weapons (Jonathan's bow in 22b), but in hand-to-hand combat (Saul's sword "was not returned empty", 22c). Intensifying attributive apposition more accurately describes the increased stakes with respect to Jonathan and Saul's rank and weaponry than O'Connor's trope of coloration.

3.3.2.4 2 Samuel 1:23a-c

23a	שָׁאוּל וְיהוֹנָתָן הַנֶּאֱהָבִים וְהַנְּעִימִם	**Non-Apposition** **Image 3':** Saul and Jonathan as a pair
	Saul and Jonathan were beloved and pleasant *Single null copula line of 2C, 4PW*	
23b	בְּחַיֵּיהֶם וּבְמוֹתָם לֹא נִפְרָדוּ	**Additive Non-Apposition**
	In their lives and in their deaths they were not divided. *Single independent verbal clause line of 2C, 3PW*	
23c	מִנְּשָׁרִים קַלּוּ מֵאֲרָיוֹת גָּבֵרוּ׃	**Apposition** – Exemplification of 23a
	They were swifter than eagles, they were stronger than lions. *Double clause line of 4C, 4PW*	

Lines 22b and 22c depict Jonathan and Saul as individuals, but in 23a (Image 3'), they are considered as a pair. I read 23b as additive non-apposition; it is not enjambment because both 23a and 23b are complete clauses unto themselves. Lines 23c, d are exemplifying appositives to

[57] Holmstedt and Jones explain that the juxtaposition of two VPs is a type of intensifying attribution ("Apposition in Biblical Hebrew," 37). What O'Connor calls line-level matching is in many cases more accurately described as clausal apposition.

23a: *Saul and Jonathan were beloved and pleasant in their lives*, for example, *They were swifter than eagles, they were stronger than lions*.

3.3.2.5 2 Samuel 1:24a-c

24a	בְּנוֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶל־שָׁאוּל בְּכֶינָה	**Non-Apposition** **Image 1'':** Israelite women react to the proclamation of Saul and Jonathan's deaths
	Daughters of Israel, weep over Saul *Single independent verbal clause line of 2C, 3PW*	
24b	הַמַּלְבִּשְׁכֶם שָׁנִי עִם־עֲדָנִים	**Non-Apposition** – Enjambment
	Who clothed you [in] scarlet [cloth] with jewels, *Single dependent verbal clause lines of 3C, 3PW*	
24c	הַמַּעֲלָה עֲדִי זָהָב עַל לְבוּשְׁכֶן׃	**Non-Apposition** – Enjambment
	Who placed ornaments of gold (collective s) upon your clothes *Single dependent verbal clause lines of 3C, 3PW*	

The non-appositional line in 24a marks a new direction in the poem. The weeping daughters of Israel serve as a foil for the rejoicing daughters of Philistine in lines 20c, d. Lines 20c, d and 24a all feature non-indicative verb forms; in 20c, d, the verbs are in irreal mood because the prohibitions in 20a, b are intended to prevent the results in 20c, d from taking place. In 24a, the mood is volitional: David calls on the Israelite women to weep over Saul. Lines 24b, c are enjambed relative clauses that both describe Saul and provide reasons for why the women should weep.

3.3.2.6 2 Samuel 1:25a-b

25a	אֵיךְ נָפְלוּ גִבֹּרִים בְּתוֹךְ הַמִּלְחָמָה	**Non-Apposition – Resumption of Image 1'':** Proclamation of Saul and Jonathan's deaths (cf 19b)
	The mighty have fallen in the midst of battle! *Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 4PW*	
25b	יְהוֹנָתָן עַל־בָּמוֹתֶיךָ חָלָל׃	**Apposition –** Exemplification of 25a
	Jonathan [is] a slain one upon your high places *Single null copula clause line of 3C, 3PW*	

Line 25a is non-appositional and resumes Image 1 (cf. 19b). David's exclamatory statements in 19a, b are explicitly directed to Israel. In 25a it is not immediately clear to whom David is speaking; it is only the 2msg attached pronoun on בָּמוֹת that directs us back to יִשְׂרָאֵל in 19a. Line 25b is in apposition to 25a, but the type of apposition is debatable. An appositive of identification seems possible (*How the mighty have fallen …* namely, *Jonathan is slain*), but גִּבֹּרִים in 25a is plural, whereas Jonathan is singular. For this reason, I think it more likely that 25b is an appositive of exemplification: *The mighty ones have fallen in the midst of battle*, *Jonathan* (in particular) [*is*] *a slain one upon your high places*.[58]

[58] "In inclusion, the appositive is an example of the anchor – one specific instance of it. The example can be representative, a paradigm case, in which case Quirk *et al.* (1985) refer to the relationship as particularization, marked in English by words and phrases such as *especially, in particular, mainly,* and *mostly;* or it can be an example that is not necessarily representative, which they refer to as exemplification, marked in English by *for example* or *say*" (Holmstedt and Jones, "Apposition in Biblical Hebrew," 38).

3.3.2.7 2 Samuel 1:26a-c

26a	צַר־לִי עָלֶיךָ אָחִי	**Non-Apposition** **Image 3'**: David addresses Jonathan
	I have grief because of you, my brother *Single null copula clause line of 3C, 4PW*	
26b	יְהֹונָתָן נָעַמְתָּ לִי מְאֹד	**Non-Apposition**
	Jonathan, you were very pleasant to me *Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 4PW*	
26c	נִפְלְאַתָה אַהֲבָתְךָ לִי מֵאַהֲבַת נָשִׁים׃	**Apposition –** Intensifying attributive to 26b
	Your love was more wonderful to me than the love of women *Single clause line of 4C, 4PW*	

Line 25b seems like a sensible place for the poem to end given that 25a, b form an envelope structure with 19a, b, but as soon as David mentions Jonathan by name in 25b, he cannot stop himself from addressing Jonathan directly in 26a. This surprising turn is accomplished by two non-appositional lines in succession: *I have grief over you, my brother Jonathan* because y*ou were very pleasant to me* (26a, b). Line 26c is an intensifying attributive; both are single clause lines, but 26c has an additional comparative phrase: *You were very pleasant to me*, what's more, *Your love was more wonderful to me than the love of women*.

3.3.2.8 2 Samuel 1:27a-b

27a	אֵיךְ נָפְלוּ גִבּוֹרִים	**Non-Apposition – Resumption of Image 1":** Proclamation of Saul and Jonathan's deaths (cf 19b, 25a)
	[The] mighty have fallen! *Single independent verbal clause line of 2C, 3PW*	
27b	וַיֹּאבְדוּ כְּלֵי מִלְחָמָה׃	**Apposition –** Reformulation of 27a
	The weapons of war are destroyed. *Single independent verbal clause line of 2C, 2PW*	

Having expressed his grief directly to his deceased friend, line 27a is a non-appositional line in which David again proclaims the sorry news that the mighty have fallen. Line 27a serves as an anchor line for an appositive of reformulation in line 27b: *The mighty have fallen* [which is to say], *the weapons of war have been destroyed*.[59]

3.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have put forth two main arguments. First, I have shown that the revisions I made to "unit" and "constituent" in chapter 2 produces lineation consistent with O'Connor's original approach, and in cases where the lineation is inconsistent, I have articulated a working principle (maximizing the constituents in every line) for resolving questionable cases.

[59] Commentators disagree on how כלי מלחמה should be read. Tsumura argues that כלי מלחמה is adverbial and renders the last two lines, *How have the warriors fallen / and perished, by the weapons of war!* (2019:59-60), while A. A. Anderson (1989:20) and Stephen Geller (1979:166) argue that the referent of כלי מלחמה is Saul and Jonathan because the lines are synonymously parallel. I did not find any commentator who argued for their reading by appealing to apposition, even in cases where the commentator made other syntactic arguments. For example, A. Graeme Auld writes, "'Tools of battle' is normally understood as a term for weapons. However, 'heroes' are the subject of the previous verb, and *'bd* ('to perish/wander,' v. 27) normally has a personal or an abstract subject. Together these observations powerfully suggest that Saul and Jonathan, who themselves have been very effective with sword and bow (v. 22), were finally discarded by a personified Battle as rejected implements" (*I & II Samuel: A Commentary,* The Old Testament Library [Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2011], 361). To my mind, the appositive reading is the simplest syntactic explanation for the relationship between these lines.

Second, I have argued that O'Connor's interlinear analysis did not realize his goal of providing a Syntactic Description of BH verse, but an analysis of the appositive style of BH poetry does. There are several reasons for this. First, there are many lines in O'Connor's corpus where he identifies no tropes at all. By contrast, the appositive approach accounts for the syntactic dynamics between every line. Second, many of O'Connor's tropes point to interesting syntactic phenomena, but he does not explain the interpretive import of those phenomena. By contrast, the appositive approach explains the interpretive implications of the appositive (or non-appositive) relationships between lines. For example, an appositive analysis of 2 Sam 1:19-27 revealed that non-appositional lines often marked shifts in imagery in the poem (e.g., 20c is an enjambed line that introduces the image of the women; 21a is a non-appositional line that changes the addressee from Israel to the hills). My analysis of 22b, c demonstrates that the appositive analysis better accounts for what O'Connor calls “binomination” by showing the intensification of the imagery when the poet shifts from Jonathan the prince to Saul the king, and from Jonathan's long-range weapon (the bow) to Saul's short-range weapon (the sword).

The changes I have proposed to O'Connor's approach have generated promising results in 2 Sam 1:19-27, a poem in O'Connor's corpus. In chapter 4, I analyze Lamentations 1, a poem outside of O'Connor's corpus, to demonstrate that the Revised and Extended *HVS* Model is applicable to late BH poetry and provides a more compelling reading than Standard Descriptions of the poem.

Chapter 4
A Syntactic Description of Lamentations 1

4 Introduction

In chapter 3 I compared O'Connor's syntactic description of 2 Sam 1 to my own description utilizing the Revised and Extended *HVS* Model laid out in chapter 2. I demonstrated that my approach is firmly rooted in O'Connor's work but also advances his vision of a Syntactic Description of BH poetry. In this chapter, I provide a Syntactic Description of Lamentations 1 (a poem outside of O'Connor's corpus)[1] and compare my description of Lamentations 1 to Standard Descriptions of the poem offered by F.W. Dobbs-Allsopp and Adele Berlin. I have chosen these scholars' works because of their expertise in BH poetry in general and Lamentations in particular. Berlin has been sympathetic to O'Connor's work, syntactically sensitive in her monograph on poetry, and published a commentary on Lamentations in 2002.[2] Dobbs-Allsopp has published extensively on Lamentations, including two articles on enjambment and a commentary published in 2002; his monograph *On Biblical Poetry* was published in 2015.[3] Dobbs-Allsopp and Berlin represent some of the best scholarship on the poetry of Lamentations from a perspective that remains rooted in the Standard Description even while noting and shoring up its deficiencies. As such, their scholarship is well suited for drawing contrasts between traditional approaches to BH poetry and the approach of the Revised and Extended *HVS* Model.

[1] O'Connor's corpus consists of Classical Hebrew (and older) texts, whereas Lamentations is an example of LBH poetry.

[2] Berlin's review of *HVS* was published in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 102, no. 2 (Apr-Jun 1982): 392-93; her monograph is *The Dynamics of Biblical Parallelism,* 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008); her Lamentations commentary is *Lamentations,* The Old Testament Library (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2002).

[3] F. W. Dobbs-Allsopp, *On Biblical Poetry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015). The works I will focus on in this chapter are Dobbs-Allsopp's Lamentations commentary (*Lamentations,* IBC [Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press], 2002), and articles on enjambment ("The Enjambing Line in Lamentations: A Taxonomy (Part I)", *ZAW* 113/2 (2001), 219-39; "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations: A Taxonomy (Part II)", *ZAW* 113/5 (2001), 370-85). For a more extensive list of Dobbs-Allsopp's work on Lamentations, see bibliography.

4.1 Lineal Analysis of Lamentations 1

In this section, I provide syntactic lineal analysis of each of Lamentation 1's 98 lines using the Revised and Extended *HVS* Model laid out in chapter 2.

4.1.1 Lamentations 1:1a

1a	אֵיכָה | יָשְׁבָה בָדָד הָעִיר			
Translit	*ʾêkâ*	*yāšəbâ*	*bādād*	*hāʿîr*
Word Level	PW1	PW2	PW3	PW4
Const Level	–	C1	C2	C3
Synt Role	EXCL	V	AD	S
Translation	The city dwells alone!			
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 4PW*			

The opening word of the poem and the name of the book is אֵיכָה, a word that can function as an interrogative (*where?, how?*) or an exclamatory particle (*how!*).[4] I read אֵיכָה as an exclamatory particle here and represent it in my translation with an exclamation point. אֵיכָה is a prosodic word because it is not joined to another word by cliticization, but not a constituent because it is not a verb, verbal argument, or verbal modifier.

The opening exclamatory particle triggers VS word order.[5] The verb יָשְׁבָה is a constituent, as is the adverbial adjunct בָדָד that modifies the verb. הָעִיר is a constituent because it is the subject of the verb and therefore one of its arguments. Line 1a is a single independent verbal clause line of four prosodic words and three constituents.

[4] WOC §18.4.d cites Deut. 1:12 and Cant 1:7 as interrogative uses of אֵיכָה (*how?* and *where?* respectively), and 2 Sam 1:19, Lam 1:1, and Isa 1:21 as exclamatory uses. JM §162a states, "The line between a question and an exclamation is often ill-defined. Many interrogative words can be used also as exclamatory words", and §162b cites this verse as an example of אֵיךְ being used as an exclamatory particle.

[5] On BH word order, see Holmstedt 2005, 2009, 2011.

4.1.2 Lamentations 1:1b

1b	רַבָּתִי עָם הָיְתָה כְּאַלְמָנָה		
Translit	*<u>rabbātî ʿām</u>*	*hāyətâ*	*kəʾalmānâ*
Word Level	PW1	PW2	PW3
Const Level	C1	C2	C3
Synt Role	S	V	PRED
Translation	[The] populous people has become like a widow.		
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 3PW*		

The first two orthographic words (רַבָּתִי and עָם) are joined by cliticization and therefore make up one prosodic word: *the populous people.*[6] Lines 1b-d exhibit BH's normal SV word order, which is well suited to the beginning of a poetic pericope. The first prosodic word is the subject of the verb and is therefore counted as a constituent. The second prosodic word (הָיְתָה) is also the second constituent because it is a verb. The feminine verb הָיְתָה agrees with the feminine adjective רַבָּתִי of its subject, רַבָּתִי עַם. Line 1b is a single independent verbal clause line of three prosodic words and three constituents.

[6] In this case, the adjective רַבָּתִי is bound to its complement, עַם. *BHRG* §30.2.4 notes that adjectives "can function as the *status constructus* or the *status absolutus* in a construct phrase." With respect to the *î* ending, Waltke and O'Connor write, "An obscure phenomenon often associated with the case system is presented by the *suffixes of connection* (*litteræ compaginis*), otherwise debated and unexplained *-î* and *-ô* endings usually found on a noun in construct … The second of these is rather rare, but the *ḥireq compaginis* occurs in a variety of passages, almost all poetic. If these endings were to be created as case endings, the *-î* would be genitive and the *-ô* either accusative (< *a*) or nominative (< *u*)" (WOC §8.2.e).

4.1.3 Lamentations 1:1c

1c	רַבָּתִי בַגּוֹיִם שָׂרָתִי בַּמְּדִינוֹת הָיְתָה לָמַס׃			
Translit	*rabbātî baggôyim*	*śārātî bammədînôt*	*hāyətâ*	*lāmas*
Word Level	PW1	PW2	PW3	PW4
Const Level	C1	C2	C3	C4
Synt Role	S	AD	V	COMP
	ANCHOR	APP OF REFORMULATION		
Translation	The populous one among the nations – the princess among the provinces! – has become a tribute.			
Line Type	*Independent verbal clause line of 4PW, 4C*			

Like 1b, line 1c begins with the word רַבָּתִי. While I read רַבָּתִי as a bound form in both 1b and c, Adele Berlin reads רַבָּתִי in 1c as an unbound form and renders it *Lady*:

> The word *rabbātî* occurs twice in this verse, but unlike most exegetes I have construed it differently in each case because the grammatical construction is different … Here, [in the first occurrence] *rabbātî ʿām* is a construct chain, meaning "having much/many people" … In the phrase *rabbātî baggôyim, rabbātî* is an independent noun followed by a preposition. The term *rab* is a title, "chief," a feminine equivalent of *rab* in expressions like *rab hāḥōbēl* (Jonah 1:6), *rab sārîs* (2 Kgs 18:17). *Rbty* and *śrty* are synonyms, interchangeable in such expressions as *rab ṭabbāḥîm* (2 Kgs 25:8) and *śar haṭṭabbāḥîm* (Gen 37:36). In Ugaritic the pair *rbt* and *trrt* are used in connection with cities and as epithets of deities.[7]

Berlin argues that the grammatical construction of רַבָּתִי עָם in 1b differs from רַבָּתִי בַגּוֹיִם in 1c, stating that רַבָּתִי precedes a noun in the first instance and a prepositional phrase in the second. Berlin states that רַבָּתִי is an independent (i.e., not cliticized) noun in 1c, but reads the same form as a cliticized adjective in 1b. Berlin does not provide a justification for a change of usage between the two lines, and the fs form רַבָּתִי is not used as an independent noun elsewhere in the Bible (the Ugaritic, Phoenician, and Punic usage notwithstanding).[8] In the absence of such corroborating evidence, I think it is better to read the form as an adjective in both lines.

---

[7] Adele Berlin, *Lamentations,* 45.

[8] Iain Provan notes the Phoenician and Punic uses of *rbt* in his commentary, but prefers the adjectival interpretation: "It seems best to understand *rabbātî* in the first line as an adjective, and this being the case, also to regard it as such in the second line" (Provan, *Lamentations: A Commentary* [1991; repr., Vancouver: Regent College Publishing, 2016], 35).

The poet begins with the image of a city dwelling alone; a place (the city) is said to be in a state (alone). The city is not personified in line 1a. In line 1b, the idea of loneliness is developed when the *populous people* is described as having become *like a widow*: a place of community (a city/a marriage) has become a place of solitude (*alone* in 1a) because of death (*widow* in 1b). By comparing the population to a widow, the poet begins to personify the city/nation, because only a person can experience widowhood. The poet continues to characterize the nation as populous (רַבָּתִי בַגּוֹיִם) in 1c, but also draws a contrast between the personified city's lowly state (*widow* in 1b), with her former glory (*princess* in 1c). This personification highlights her loss of status, which is also emphasized in 1c (*populous people* → *widow* [1b]; *populous among the nations, princess amongst the provinces!* → *tribute* [1c]).

The first two orthographic words in 1c are cliticized to form the first prosodic word, רַבָּתִי בַגּוֹיִם. The third and fourth orthographic words are likewise cliticized to form the second prosodic word, שָׂרָתִי בַּמְּדִינוֹת. The first prosodic word is the subject of the clause, and as an argument of the verb, is reckoned as a constituent. The second prosodic word is a non-restrictive appositive that modifies the subject and is also counted as a constituent. The first NP רַבָּתִי בַגּוֹיִם *populous one among the nations,* serves as the anchor for its appositive of reformulation, the NP שָׂרָתִי בַּמְּדִינוֹת *the princess among the provinces*.[9] The NP רַבָּתִי בַגּוֹיִם is the subject of הָיְתָה, the third prosodic word and constituent in the line. The fourth prosodic word and constituent of the line is לָמַס, a PP complement to the verb.

Lines 1a-c reflect on the transformation of the city from a place of community to a place of solitude. In 1c, the transformation is communicated in part by the combination of the verb היה and the preposition ל. Many grammarians have noted the way היה and ל together express transformation; in *HVS* O'Connor explains, "The verb *hyy* is used most often with prepositional

[9] While an adjective bound to a PP may at first glance seem anomalous, there is a similar usage in 2 Chronicles 30:17a (כִּי־רַבַּת בַּקָּהָל אֲשֶׁר לֹא־הִתְקַדְּשׁוּ). The phrase הָרֵי בַגִּלְבֹּעַ in 2 Samuel 1:21a also comes to mind (see §3.1.6), although הָרֵי is a noun bound to a PP, not a nominalized adjective as in Lam 1:1c (רַבָּתִי בַגּוֹיִם, *the populous one among the nations*).

phrases, to indicate possession, service, comparison or transformation."[10] Line 1c is a single independent verbal clause line of four prosodic words and four constituents.

4.1.4 Lamentations 1:2a

2a	בָּכֹו תִּבְכֶּה בַּלַּיְלָה וְדִמְעָתָהּ עַל לֶחֱיָהּ					
Translit	*bākô*	*tibkeh*	*ballaylâ*	*wədimʿātāh*		*ʿal leḥeyāh*
Word Level	PW1	PW2	PW3	PW4		PW5
Const Level	C1		C2	C3		C4
Synt Role	TI	V	AD	S	[V]	COMP
Translation	She weeps bitterly in the night, her tears are upon her cheek;					
Line Type	*Double clause line of 4C, 5PW*					

Line 2a begins with a TI-construction.[11] Both בָּכֹו and תִּבְכֶּה are prosodic words because they are not joined by cliticization. However, whether they should be read as one or two constituents is less straightforward. Galia Hatav argues that when an infinitive absolute appears with a finite verb of the same root and binyan, the infinitive absolute within this construction should be understood as a *Tautological Infinitive* (TI), and the construction itself is a (*TI*)-*construction.*[12] Hatav argues that TI-constructions are used for Focus or Topic purposes.

Focus and *Topic* are terms related to information structure.[13] Holmstedt explains,

---

[10] O'Connor, *HVS,* 303. Waltke and O'Connor describe the phenomenon thus: "The 'indirect object' *lamed* marks one sort of goal, while another sort of goal is marked by the *lamed* of purpose. The goals here include a thing made … or used … or a person altered in status or even form" (WOC §11.2.10.d.43-45).

[11] On TI-construction, see §2.1.1.

[12] Galia Hatav, "The Infinitive Absolute and Topicalization of Events in Biblical Hebrew," in *Advances in Biblical Hebrew Linguistics: Data, Methods, and Analyses,* ed. Adina Moshavi and Tania Notarius (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2017), 207.

[13] David Crystal explains information structure thus: "In its general sense, the term [information] is used by several linguists as a basis for a theoretical account of the structure of messages. It is postulated that speech can be seen as displaying an information structure, encoding the relative salience of the elements in a message, with formally identifiable units of information" (*A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics,* 6th ed. [Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2008], s.v. "information").

> How an author communicates the message of a text can only partially be accounted for by analysing the syntactic and semantic features used within. A great deal of communicative information is conveyed by the manipulation of linguistic features beyond lexical meanings and constituent relationships. The study of *pragmatics* takes into account this information beyond syntax and semantics and the analysis of the pragmatic structure of stretches of discourse or texts is referred to as *information structure.*[14]

Holmstedt's model of information structure includes four core concepts in two layers: Theme and Rheme constitute the first layer and Topic and Focus constitute the second layer, as outlined in Table 8.[15]

Table 8. Holmstedt's Model of Information Structure

Theme	Old/known (or presupposed) information
Rheme	New/added (or re-invoked) information
Focus	Information contrasted with possible alternatives
Topic	Thematic information used to 1) isolate one among multiple Themes, or 2) set the scene (e.g. time, place)

Assuming Hatav's assertion that (TI)-constructions are used for Topic and Focus purposes is correct, how is בכו תבכה used in line 2a?

[14] Robert Holmstedt, "Word Order and Information Structure in Ruth and Jonah: A Generative-Typological Analysis," *Journal of Semitic Studies* LIV/1 (Spring 2009), 111-112.

[15] "The *Theme* is the constituent in a sentence that adds the least information to the communicative setting. It is the existing information that provides an anchor for added information, and is often described as the information in a discourse that is 'old', 'known', or 'given'. The *Rheme* is the information that is being 'added'; this can be new information or information that has been put aside, so to speak, earlier in the discourse and is now being re-invoked" (Holmstedt, "Word Order and Information Structure," 126; the table outlining theme, rheme, topic, and focus is on p. 128).

	Hebrew Text	Translation
1a	אֵיכָה ׀ יָשְׁבָה בָדָד הָעִיר	The city dwells alone!
1b	רַבָּתִי עָם הָיְתָה כְּאַלְמָנָה	[The] populous people has become like a widow.
1c	רַבָּתִי בַגּוֹיִם שָׂרָתִי בַּמְּדִינוֹת הָיְתָה לָמַס׃	The populous one among the nations – the princess among the provinces! – has become a tribute.
2a	בָּכוֹ תִבְכֶּה בַּלָּיְלָה	She weeps bitterly in the night,

All of the information in line 1a is rhematic due to it being the initial statement in the poem. In 1b, רבתי עם (*the populous people*) is thematic (old) information because it is a reformulation of העיר in 1a, while היתה כאלמנה is rhematic (added) information that serves to personalize the image of the city. רבתי בגוים שרי במדינות in 1c is a reformulation of the Theme (i.e., the city in 1a / the people in 1b), while למס is rhematic, providing new information about the Theme.

Hatav argues the TI-construction has two functions in BH: (i) *Focusing* the lexical concept of the verb, or (ii) marking the *Topic* of its respective clause.[16] Line 2a is an example of the *focusing* function of the (TI)-construction. Hatav argues further that the TI-construction performs a focusing function either through *contrast* or *non-contrast*. An example of the TI-construction expressing *contrastive* focus is in 2 Sam 24:24:

> וַיֹּאמֶר הַמֶּלֶךְ אֶל־אַרַוְנָה לֹא כִּי־קָנֹה אֶקְנֶה מֵאוֹתְךָ בִּמְחִיר
> But the king replied to Araunah, "No, I will buy [it] from you at a price."

In this case, "King David's utterance evokes the focus set: {I will buy it, I will get it for free}, from which he picks out one member, namely, 'I will buy it.'"[17] In Lam 1:2a, it is hard to imagine that a contrast is being suggested because expression of grief is a natural outcome of having been reduced from noblewoman to tribute.

[16] Hatav, "The Infinitive Absolute and Topicalization of Events," 220.

[17] Hatav, "The Infinitive Absolute and Topicalization of Events," 220-221.

Instead, Lam 1:2a is an example of the TI-construction expressing *non-contrastive,* exhaustive focus. The TI-construction בכו תבכה activates a set of alternative (but similar) actions that the personified city could perform, such as mourning (אבל), groaning (אנה) or grieving (יגה) (cf. 1:4). Instead, she weeps bitterly (בכו תבכה), so the TI-construction is marked for Focus. In 2a the finite verb תבכה is the head constituent in the clause and the infinitive is Focused, but together the VP בכו תבכה is the first constituent of the line. The PP adjunct בלילה is a constituent because it modifies the verb.

The second clause in the line begins with the subject דמעתה, exhibiting normal SV word order. The copula is null and the predicate is the PP על לחיה. The PP is the fourth constituent and fifth prosodic word; על and לחיה are joined by cliticization. Line 2a is a double clause line of four constituents and five prosodic words.

The acrostic structure of the poem warrants comment before moving to line 2b. The structure of the poem may lead the reader to wonder if this discussion of TI-constructions is necessary given that the acrostic structure of the poem requires the line to begin with a word that starts with ב. Could it not be the case that the poet simply chose the TI-construction because s/he "needed" a non-prefixed form of בכה? Ultimately, we cannot know the poet's creative process, but it is clear that the poet chose the grammatical option that both communicated the intended information and accommodated the acrostic convention.

4.1.5 Lamentations 1:2b

2b	אֵין־לָהּ מְנַחֵם מִכָּל־אֹהֲבֶיהָ		
Translit	*<u>ʾên lāh</u>*	*mənaḥēm*	*<u>mikol ʾōhăbêhā</u>*
Word Level	PW1	PW2	PW3
Const Level	C1 C2	C3	C4
Synt Role	NEGV COMP	S	AD
Translation	She has no (one) (who) comforts among all (who) love her.		
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 4C, 3PW*		

The first prosodic word in line 2b is אֵין־לָהּ, two orthographic words joined by cliticization (the unbound form of אֵין is אַיִן). Within this one prosodic word lie two constituents: the negative predicator אין and its PP complement לה.[18] The negative predicator's subject is מנחם, a relative participle with a null subject: [Subject: (One) (who) comforts] [Neg Verb: is not] [PP Comp: to her].

The third prosodic word of the line is מכל־אהביה, which is a PP adjunct to the main clause: She has none who comforts *among all who love her.* The PP adjunct consists of the preposition מן attached to the quantifier כל, which is joined to אהביה by cliticization. אהביה is an unmarked relative participial clause with attached pronominal complement, but because it is embedded within the PP, it is not counted as a verb (i.e., it does not make 2b a double clause line). Line 2b is a single independent verbal clause line of three prosodic words and four constituents. The city's "lovers," the foreign nations and false gods with whom she entered into adulterous and idolatrous relationships, are both impotent and absent in her time of need.

4.1.6 Lamentations 1:2c

2c	כָּל־רֵעֶ֖יהָ בָּגְד֣וּ בָ֑הּ		
Translit	*kol rēʿêhā*	*bāgdû*	*bāh*
Word Level	PW1	PW2	PW3
Const Level	C1	C2	C3
Synt Role	S	V	COMP
Translation	All her friends have betrayed her;		
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 3PW*		

[18] "אֵין is typically used as a sentential negative to negate nominal clauses, and therefore functions as a (negative) predicator of existence … אַיִן also serves as the opposite of the positive predicator of existence, יֵשׁ ('there is/are')" (BHRG §41.2; cf. GKC §152.i, k, l). JM§154.k refers to יֵשׁ and אַיִן as "adverbs of existence." WOC §39.3.3 refers to אַיִן/אֵין as a "negative adverb" and Waltke and O'Connor refer to its use in "negative verbless clause types" (§39.3.3b).

The first two orthographic words are joined by cliticization to form the first prosodic word (כל־רעיה) of the clause. Because כל־רעיה is the subject of the verb, it is also the first constituent of the clause, exhibiting BH's normal SV word order. The second prosodic word is also the second constituent because it is a verb. The final constituent is the complement of the verb, the PP בה. Line 2c is a single independent verbal clause line of three prosodic words and three constituents.

4.1.7 Lamentations 1:2d

2d	הָיוּ לָהּ לְאֹיְבִים׃			
Translit	[*kol rēʿêhā*]	*hāyû*	*lāh*	*ləʾōyəbîm*
Word Level		PW1	PW2	PW3
Const Level		C1	C2	C3
Synt Role	[ELIDED S]	V	COMP	COMP
Translation	[All her friends] have become enemies to her.			
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 3PW*			

Like line 2c, line 2d is a single independent verbal clause line of 3 prosodic words and 3 constituents. היו is bivalent in this line, taking two complements. The consistency of prosodic word and constituent count in lines 2d and e is achieved by the elision of the subject in 2d.[19] Line 2d exhibits BH's normal SV word order once the elision of the subject is recognized.

[19] On elision in BH poetry, see §2.3.2.1.

4.1.8 Lamentations 1:3a

3a	גָּלְתָה יְהוּדָה מֵעֹנִי וּמֵרֹב עֲבֹדָה			
Translit	*gāltâ*	*yəhûdâ*	*mēʿōnî*	*ûmērōb ʿăbōdâ*
Word Level	PW1	PW2	PW3	PW4
Const Level	C1	C2	C3	
Synt Role	V	S	AD	
Translation	Judah has gone into exile by abuse and heavy labour;			
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 4PW*			

Line 3a begins with the verb גלתה, which has been fronted.[20] Holmstedt has argued that any VS clause without a syntactic or semantic trigger must contain a Topic or Focus operator,[21] so we must account for the fronting of the verb here. As I explained in §4.1.4, Focus creates a membership set from which the Focused item is selected to contrast with the other members of the set, while Topic operators mark the entity about which something is said.[22] While it is possible that גלתה is marked for Focus in 3a,[23] I think it is more likely that גלתה is marked as the Topic of the clause. The Topic of lines 2d and 2e was כל־רעיה, the city's friends-turned-enemies. The fronted גלתה in 3a indicates that the Topic has shifted from כל־רעיה to גלתה, Judah's going into exile. The fronting of גלתה is also felicitous because it accommodates the acrostic structure of the poem; just as בכו was Focus fronted in the ב line of the acrostic (2a), גלתה has been Topic fronted in the ג line (3a).

---

[20] "Fronting refers to the construction in which a constituent is moved from its default position to a position near the front of the clause" (Holmstedt, "Critical at the Margins: Edge Constituents in Biblical Hebrew," *KUSATU* 17 [2014]: 115).

[21] Robert D. Holmstedt, "Word Order and Information Structure in Ruth and Jonah: A Generative Typological Analysis," *Journal of Semitic Studies* LIV/1 (Spring 2009): 138.

[22] Crystal, *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics,* s.v. "topic."

[23] In verbal Focus, the verb carries an inherent contrast with other possible actions. The poet has just informed the audience that the city has no comforter among those who love her and that she has been betrayed by friends who have become enemies (2c-e). The membership set in this case would include other possible actions Judah may take in addition to *not* doing the Focussed action {go-into-exile, not-go-into-exile, repent, not-repent, cry out, not-cry-out}. If גלתה is marked for Focus here, it is to specify the outcome of the city having been betrayed by its allies, namely, the exile of her people.

The verb גלתה is followed by its subject יהודה, and these are the first two prosodic words and constituents of the line. יהודה is followed by the PP מעני ומרב עבדה. I understand the מן prepositions in מעני ומרב עבדה as instrumental: "*by means of* abuse and *by means of* heavy labour."[24] מעני is the third prosodic word, while the last prosodic word of the line (ומרב עבדה) consists of two orthographic words joined by cliticization. Together, the third and fourth prosodic words make up a single constituent, an adverbial adjunct that modifies the verb גלתה. Line 3a is the first line to identify the populous people referenced in vv.1-2 as Judah.

4.1.9 Lamentations 1:3b

3b	הִיא יָשְׁבָה בַגּוֹיִם		
Translit	*hîʾ*	*yāšəbâ*	*baggôyim*
Word Level	PW1	PW2	PW3
Const Level	C1	C2	C3
Synt Role	S	V	AD
Translation	She dwells among the nations,		
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 3PW*		

In line 3b, the 3fs independent personal pronoun is the first prosodic word and the first constituent in the line, followed by the second prosodic word and constituent, the verb ישׁבה. The third prosodic word is the PP בגוים, which is also a constituent because it is a modifier of the verb. Line 3b is a single independent verbal clause line of three prosodic words and three constituents.

The repetition of ישׁבה and בגוים from earlier in the poem communicates a sad irony; the former princess among the provinces (שׂרתי במדינות, line 1c) who has been reduced to dwelling alone as a tribute (ישׁבה בדד line 1a; היתה למס line 1d) nevertheless dwells among the nations (ישׁבה בגוים). As a noblewoman, שׂרתי במדינות should be honoured and celebrated by the nations, but instead she is exiled among them, unable to find a resting place (3c, below).

[24] BHRG §39.14.4a; JM §132d; WOC §11.2.11d.

4.1.10 Lamentations 1:3c

3c	לֹא מָצְאָה מָנוֹחַ
Translit	*lō᾽ māṣ᾽â mānôaḥ*
Word Level	PW1 PW2
Const Level	C1 C2
Synt Role	NEG + V COMP
Translation	she cannot find a resting-place.
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 2C, 2PW*

In 3c, the first orthographic word (the negative particle לא) combines with its verb מצאה to create the first prosodic word and the first constituent.[25] The second prosodic word and second constituent is the NP complement מנוח. Line 3c is a single independent verbal clause line of two prosodic words and two constituents.

4.1.11 Lamentations 1:3d

3d	כָּל־רֹדְפֶיהָ הִשִּׂיגוּהָ בֵּין הַמְּצָרִים:
Translit	*kol rōdpêhā hiśśîgûhā bên hamməṣārîm*
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3
Const Level	C1 C2 C3 C4
Synt Role	S V + ATTPROCOMP AD
Translation	All her pursuers overtook her between the straits.
Line Type	*Independent verbal clause line of 4C, 3PW*

As the subject of the verb, the first prosodic word (כל־רדפיה) is the first constituent of line 3d, exhibiting normal SV word order. As a verb with an attached complement, the second prosodic word (השיגוה) contains both the second and third constituents. בין and המצרים are cliticized to make up the third prosodic word and fourth constituent, a locative PP adjunct to the verb. Line 3d is an independent verbal clause line of three prosodic words and four constituents.

[25] See §3.1.11 for an explanation of how negatives and verbs combine to make a single prosodic word.

4.1.12 Lamentations 1:4a

4a	דַּרְכֵי צִיּוֹן אֲבֵלוֹת מִבְּלִי בָּאֵי מוֹעֵד
Translit	[*darkê ṣiyyôn* ʾăbēlôt] [*mibbəlî bāʾê môʿēd*]
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3 PW4
Const Level	C1 C2 C3 C4
Synt Role	S [V] PRED AD [ANCHOR] [APP OF REFORMULATION]
Translation	The paths of Zion are mourning, without festival-goers
Line Type	*Single null copula clause line of 4C, 4PW*

The first two orthographic words in 4a are cliticized to form a single prosodic word. Because דרכי ציון is the subject of the null copula, it is also counted as a constituent. The second prosodic word and constituent in the line is the predicate, אבלות. The first clause (דרכי ציון אבלות) serves as an anchor for the PP (מבלי באי מועד), an appositive of reformulation: *The roads of Zion are mourning*, which is to say, *without festival-goers*. מבלי and באי מועד are counted as constituents because they are part of a non-restrictive appositional phrase.

בלי is regularly preceded by the preposition מ to function as an adverb or adjective. When this is the case, *DCH* suggests glossing מבלי "without."[26] In this line, מבלי functions adjectivally to modify the participial phrase באי מועד. The orthographic words באי and מועד are joined by cliticization to form a single prosodic word. Line 4a is single null copula clause line of four prosodic words and four constituents.

[26] *DCH,* s.v. "בְּלִי"; cf. *HALOT,* s.v. "בְּלִי."

4.1.13 Lamentations 1:4b

4b	כָּל־שְׁעָרֶ֙יהָ֙ שֹׁוֹמֵמִ֔ין כֹּהֲנֶ֖יהָ נֶאֱנָחִ֑ים							
Translit	*kol šəʿārêhā*		*šômēmîn*		*kōhănêhā*		*neʾĕnāḥîm*	
Word Level	PW1		PW2		PW3		PW4	
Const Level	C1		C2		C3		C4	
Synt Role	S	[V]	PRED		S	[V]	PRED	
Translation	All her gates are desolate, her priests are groaning							
Line Type	*Double null copula clause line of 4C, 4PW*							

Line 4b features two null copula clauses. The first two orthographic words are joined by cliticization to form one prosodic word, כל־שׁעריה. The first prosodic word is also the first constituent because it is the subject of the null copula. The participial form שׁוממין is an adjectival predicate.[27] The second clause has the same syntactic structure as the first: *subject – null copula – adjectival predicate*.

According to O'Connor's Syntactic Description, this line could be broken at the end of the first clause, but I have adopted the Maximalizing Principle laid out in §3.2.2, which includes the maximum number of constituents and prosodic words per poetic line. I discuss the interpretative import of the maximizing principle with respect to this verse in §4.2.3.

[27] As noted in §2.3.3.1, I follow Cook's proposal that "the stative and participle in Biblical Hebrew be classified consistently as adjectives, over and against those who would argue that they are sometimes nouns and sometimes verbs, or that they are intermediate or hybrid forms" ("The Hebrew Participle and Stative in Typological Perspective," *JNSL* 34/1 (2008): 12).

4.1.14 Lamentations 1:4c

4c	בְּתוּלֹתֶ֙יהָ נוּגֹ֔ות וְהִ֖יא מַר־לָֽהּ׃						
Translit	*bətûlōtêhā*		*nûgôt*	*wəhîʾ*		<u>*mar lāh*</u>	
Word Level	PW1		PW2	PW3		PW4	
Const Level	C1		C2	C3		C4	
Synt Role	S	[V]	PRED	S	[V]	PRED	
Translation	Her young women are grieving; she – she has bitterness.						
Line Type	*Double null copula clause line of 4C, 4PW*						

Like 4b, line 4c is a double null copula clause line of four constituents and four prosodic words, with *subject – null copula – adjectival predicate* word order.[28] This line features Left Dislocation (LD; trad. *casus pendens*). Holmstedt has shown that LD in BH falls into four basic arrangements depending on the type of resumption NP within the clause: a) resumption by an independent pronoun; b) resumption by a clitic pronoun; c) resumption by a coreferential locative adverb; and d) resumption by a coreferential NP.[29] Line 4c is an example of the second arrangement, resumption by a clitic pronoun: <u>she</u> [<u>LD</u>] – bitterness is to **her** [**resumptive clitic pronoun**]. Regarding the pragmatic functions of Left Dislocation, Holmstedt has shown that:

> Left-dislocated constituents are never new to the discourse (and so never rhematic, but always thematic), and are thus associated only with a Topic role. The resumptive element, though, may function in one of two ways: 1) it may be marked for Focus, thereby allowing the two distinct constituents to mark their common referent with multiple layers of information (Topic and Focus); or 2) it may by its presence allow another constituent in the core clause to be explicitly fronted for Focus (in other words, there are cases in which the non-resumptive constituent could not be clearly Focus-fronted without the presence of the resumptive constituent to clarify the word order).[30]

In line 4c, the left-dislocated element is והיא and marks the Topic of the clause. This clause has many possible discourse anchors (e.g., the priests in 4b and the young women in 4c), but the left-dislocation marks the discourse anchor (והיא, whose referent is Zion [4a]) about which the clause

[28] I understand מַר as an adjective ("bitter") that is used substantivally ("bitterness").

[29] Robert D. Holmstedt, "Critical at the Margins: Edge Constituents in Biblical Hebrew", *KUSATU* 17 (2014): 119-120.

[30] Holmstedt, "Critical at the Margins," 127. See §4.1.5 for my previous discussion of Theme, Rheme, Topic, and Focus.

will make a proposition.[31] The resumptive 3fs pronoun attached to ל carries Focus, drawing the listener/reader's attention to this particular entity: She – bitterness belonged to **her** (i.e., the bitterness belongs to the city as distinct from [but inclusive of] the priests and young women). This Topic and Focus marking also enables the reader/listener to identify the referent of the clitic pronoun in the next line (צריה – *her* adversaries, i.e., *Zion's* adversaries in 5a, are now the head).

I have chosen not to count the resumptive pronoun attached to ל as an additional constituent because it is both semantically and syntactically coreferential. However, this is the only case of Left Dislocation in my corpus and this principle may require revision once the Revised and Extended *HVS* model is tested on a greater expanse of texts.

4.1.15 Lamentations 1:5a

5a	הָיוּ צָרֶיהָ לְרֹאשׁ		
Translit	*hāyû*	*ṣārêhā*	*lərōʾš*
Word Level	PW1	PW2	PW3
Const Level	C1	C2	C3
Synt Role	V	S	COMP
Translation	Her adversaries are [now] [the] head;		
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 3PW*		

Line 5a line begins the ה portion of the acrostic with the verb היו. Cook has shown that perfect verbs exhibiting VS word order express modality, which warrants reading היו here according to a present or near-future time frame potential events: *Her adversaries are* [now] [the] *head,* or *her adversaries will become* [the] *head,* respectively.[32] I have chosen the present time frame because I think the poet is contrasting Zion's current desolation with her adversaries' ascendancy.

---

[31] Holmstedt, "Critical at the Margins," 128.

[32] Cook has shown that when the Perfect functions modally, it exhibits VS word order; when the Perfect functions indicatively, it exhibits SV word order (Cook, "The *Vav*-Prefixed Verb Forms in Elementary Hebrew Grammar," *Journal of Hebrew Scriptures* Vol. 8 [2008], 8; see also Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb: The Expression of Tense, Aspect, and Modality in Biblical Hebrew,* [Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2012], particularly §3.3).

The first prosodic word and first constituent is the verb היו, followed by its subject (the second prosodic word and constituent, צריה), and its PP complement (the third prosodic word and constituent, לראש). Line 5a is a single independent verbal clause line of three prosodic words and three constituents.

4.1.16 Lamentations 1:5b

5b	אֹיְבֶיהָ שָׁלֽוּ	
Translit	*ʾōyəbêhā*	*šālû*
Word Level	PW1	PW2
Const Level	C1	C2
Synt Role	S	V
Translation	Her enemies are [now] at ease.	
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause of 2C, 2PW*	

Line 5b returns to SV word order and is a single independent verbal clause line of 2 prosodic words and two constituents. While this line is short, איביה שלו cannot be part of 5a because its inclusion would surpass the constituent constraint (lines contain between one and four phonologically expressed constituents).[33]

[33] See §2.3.3.4 for a summary of the line constraints.

4.1.17 Lamentations 1:5c

5c	כִּי־יְהוָה הוֹגָהּ עַל רֹב־פְּשָׁעֶיהָ			
Translit	*kî*	*yhwh*	*hôgāh*	*ʿal rōb pəšāʿêhā*
Word Level	PW1	PW2	PW3	PW4
Const Level	–	C1	C2 C3	C4
Synt Role	EMPH	S	V + ATTPROCOMP	AD
Translation	Surely, Yhwh has caused her to suffer on account of the multitude of her transgressions			
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 4C, 4PW*			

The first prosodic word in line 5c is an emphatic particle. Because כי is not a verb, verbal argument, or verbal modifier, it is not a constituent. The second prosodic word is יהוה, which is the subject of the verb and therefore a constituent. The third prosodic word contains two constituents: the verb יגה and its attached pronominal complement. The fourth, fifth, and sixth orthographic words are cliticized, forming the fourth prosodic word and constituent. Line 5c is a single independent verbal clause line of four prosodic words and four constituents.

4.1.18 Lamentations 1:5d

5d	עוֹלָלֶיהָ הָלְכוּ שְׁבִי לִפְנֵי־צָר׃			
Translit	*ʿôlālêhā*	*hāləkû*	*šəbî*	*lipnê-ṣār*
Word Level	PW1	PW2	PW3	PW4
Const Level	C1	C2	C3	C4
Synt Role	S	V	SP	AD
Translation	Her children went [as] captives before an adversary			
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 4C, 4PW*			

The first two prosodic words are also the first two constituents; עולליה is the subject of the verb הלכו, exhibiting BH's typical SV word order. שבי is a secondary predicate. Jacques Boulet defines a secondary predicate as "any non-finite predicate that occurs under the scope of another,

primary predicate, whether by adjunction or as a complement."[34] Boulet provides a typology of eleven kinds of secondary predications, each with a unique combination of semantic representation and syntactic structure.[35] שׁבי is a subject-oriented depictive secondary predicate. Boulet explains, "Subject-oriented SPs are relatively independent from the verb phrase, being concerned with the subject," while "Object-oriented SPs are a kind of verbal modification and therefore adjoin to v[erbalizing head]."[36] שׁבי is a *subject-oriented* secondary predicate because it describes the state of עוללֵיה.

שׁבי is a *depictive* secondary predicate because it exhibits the following key characteristics:

> 1. A depictive specifies the state of one of the participants in the primary predication, either the subject or the object (i.e. depictives share an argument with the primary predication).
>
> 2. The state depicted holds (at minimum) during the entire timeframe of the primary predication.[37]

In this line: 1. שׁבי depicts the state of the subject, עוללֵיה: her children went [*as*] *captives,* and 2. עוללֵיה remain in that captive state during the entire timeframe of the predication indicated by הלכו. The last constituent in the line is a locative PP adjunct. Line 5d is a single independent verbal clause line of four prosodic words and four constituents.

---

[34] Jacques Boulet, "A Linguistic Appraisal of the Biblical Hebrew Accusative," (PhD diss., University of Toronto, Ontario, 2020), 29.

[35] Boulet, "Linguistic Appraisal," 26.

[36] Boulet, "Linguistic Appraisal," 30.

[37] Boulet, "Linguistic Appraisal," 31.

4.1.19 Lamentations 1:6a

6a	וַיֵּצֵא מִן־בַּת־[מִ][בַּת]־צִיּוֹן כָּל־הֲדָרָהּ		
Translit	*wayyēṣēʾ*	*mibbat ṣiyyôn*	*kol hădārāh*
Word Level	PW1	PW2	PW3
Const Level	C1	C2	C3
Synt Role	V	AD	S
Translation	All her splendour has gone out from Daughter Zion		
Line Type	*Independent verbal clause line of 3C, 3PW*		

Line 6a features the first Past Narrative verb in the poem. ויצא is the first prosodic word and constituent. The second prosodic word and constituent is the PP adjunct to the verb; the third prosodic word and constituent is the NP subject of the verb, כל־הדרה. Given the interlineal syntax, I understand the referent of כל־הדרה to be Zion's children (עוללים) in 5d.

The subject's position at the end of the clause is an example of extraposition. Crystal defines extraposition as "the process or result of moving (or extraposing) an element from its normal position to a position at or near the end of the sentence."[38] The extraposition of כל־הדרה marks the subject for Focus; from a membership set of {all her splendour, not all her splendour}, emphasis is placed on *all her splendour.*

4.1.20 Lamentations 1:6b

6b	הָיוּ שָׂרֶיהָ כְּאַיָּלִים		
Translit	*hāyû*	*śārêhā*	*kəʾayyālîm*
Word Level	PW1	PW2	PW3
Const Level	C1	C2	C3
Synt Role	V	S	COMP
Translation	Her leaders are like deer		
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 3PW*		

[38] Crystal, *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics,* 6th ed., s.v. "Extraposition."

The verb-subject word order in 6b signals irrealis mood.[39] The modalities expressed by irrealis *qatal* and irrealis *yiqtol* are broad, including subordinate modalities, habituality, volitive, and positive and negative directive meanings.[40] The irrealis *qatal* verbs in 6b and c are habitual in mood, expressing the ongoing state of Daughter Zion's (6a) leaders.[41] Line 6b is a single independent verbal clause line of three prosodic words and three constituents.

4.1.21 Lamentations 1:6c

6c	לֹא־מָצְאוּ מִרְעֶה	
Translit	*lōʾ māṣʾû*	*mirʿeh*
Word Level	PW1	PW2
Const Level	C1	C2
Synt Role	NEG + V	COMP
Translation	[that] cannot find pasture;	
Line Type	*Dependent unmarked relative clause line of 2C, 2PW*	

Line 6c is an unmarked relative clause that modifies אילים in 6b. Because the relative clause is non-restrictive, the items within the relative clause are counted as constituents. While the line is short, לא־מצאו מרעה cannot be part of 6b because its inclusion would surpass the constituent constraint (no line contains more than four constituents).[42] Line 6c is a dependent unmarked relative clause line of two prosodic words and two constituents. Because line 6c depends on the main clause in 6b for syntactic completion, this line is enjambed.

---

[39] "Modality refers to the conceptual or semantic domain consisting of the theoretically limitless ways in which speakers might choose to relate an event or proposition to alternative situations … in BH [irrealis] mood is indicated by a word order distinction: realis clauses default to subject-verb word order, whereas irrealis clauses exhibit verb-subject word order" (Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb,* 234).

[40] Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb,* 234.

[41] Articulating a precise description of the irrealis use of the *qatal* verb here is no small task. היו צריה כאילים לא־מצאו מרעה may be described as a generic (or gnomic) use of irrealis *qatal*; Cook explains this use of irrealis *qatal* in "Genericity, Tense, and Verbal Patterns in the Sentence Literature of Proverbs," in *Seeking Out the Wisdom of the Ancients,* ed. Ronald Troxel, Kevil Friebel, and Dennis Magary (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2005), 117-33.

[42] For line constraints, see §2.3.3.4.

4.1.22 Lamentations 1:6d

6d	וַיֵּלְכוּ בְלֹא־כֹ֖חַ לִפְנֵ֣י רוֹדֵֽף׃		
Translit	*wayyēləkû*	*bəlōʾ kōaḥ*	*lipnê rôdēp*
Word Level	PW1	PW2	PW3
Const Level	C1	C2	C3
Synt Role	V	AD	AD
Translation	They went without strength before pursuers.		
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 3PW*		

Line 6d starts with a Past Narrative verb and is followed by two PP adverbial adjuncts.[43] The use of the participial adjective רדף directs the reader/listener back to line 3d (כל־רדפיה השיגוה בין המצרים). In line 3d Judah's pursuers overtook her, while in line 6d Daughter Zion must go into captivity with her pursuers at her back.

4.1.23 Lamentations 1:7a

7a	זָכְרָ֣ה יְרוּשָׁלַ֗͏ִם יְמֵ֤י עָנְיָהּ֙ וּמְרוּדֶ֔יהָ			
Translit	*zākərâ*	*yərûšālaim*	*yəmê ʿānəyāh*	*ûmərûdêhā*
Word Level	PW1	PW2	PW3	PW4
Const Level	C1	C2	C3	
Synt Role	V	S	COMP	
Translation	Jerusalem remembers the days of her affliction and her wanderings,			
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 4PW*			

The VS word order in 7a accommodates the acrostic structure and signals irrealis mood.[44] Jerusalem habitually remembers *the days of her affliction and wanderings* (i.e., ימי עניה ומרודיה

[43] The verbal semantics in vv. 5-6 are complex. The two *wayyiqtol* forms (6a, d) clearly present events in a past time frame, but this does not necessarily force the other verbs in these verses into the same time frame. I understand the *qatal* form in the subordinate clause in 5c and the *wayyiqtol* verbs in 6a, d to describe events that led to the changes of status expressed in 5a, b, d and 6b, c.

[44] See §4.1.20 for a discussion of irrealis modality.

is the complement of the verb זכרה). The verb (זכרה) and subject (ירוּשלם) make up the first and second prosodic words and constituents. ימי is cliticized to עניה to create the third prosodic word, and the third prosodic word combines with the fourth prosodic word (ומרודיה) to create the final constituent in the line.

Some commentators[45] read ימי עניה ומרודיה as an adverbial adjunct and articulate a reading like Berlin's: "Jerusalem remembered [in] the days of her affliction and wanderings."[46] Such a reading runs into interpretative difficulties in the next line, as Berlin's description demonstrates:

> To be consistent with the rest of the context, v. 7 must refer to Jerusalem's remembering the time of the siege and destruction. The problem is that the Hebrew text lacks the particle 'in' before 'the days,' although it is supplied in many translations. If 'in' is not supplied, the verse seems to mean that Jerusalem remembers the days of her misery. That in turn makes 'all her treasures of earlier days' seem out of place and unintelligible.[47]

Traditionally, Hebraists' understanding of the BH verbal system has contributed to the confusion surrounding this verse, but Cook's linguistically grounded description of the BH verbal system[48] allows this clause's irrealis mood to be more readily identified. Once the mood of זכרה is identified as habitual (and thus Jerusalem *remembers* rather than *remembered*), the way is clearer to understanding ימי עניה ומרודיה as a complement of the verb rather than an adverbial adjunct.

Even so, once we have identified ימי עניה ומרודיה as the complement of זכרה, we still need to identify the referent of this phrase. Which ימי עניה ומרודיה are the poet referring to? As Berlin

---

[45] For a brief survey of the history of interpretation of the syntax in this verse see R. B. Salters, *Lamentations,* ICC (London: T & T Clark, 2010), 54-59.

[46] Berlin, *Lamentations,* 46. Dobbs-Allsopp also reads the phrase adverbially (*Lamentations,* 62). Robin Parry goes so far as to say, "We are told that 'she remembers' – but what does she remember? At face value it looks as if she recalls 'the days of her affliction and homelessness.' But this is problematic on several counts. For this reason many commentators and translators suppose that there is an implicit ב/*b* ('in') in v. 7a. Thus they render line 1 as 'Jerusalem remembered / [*in*] they days of her affliction and her wanderings.' So *in the midst of present pain* she recalls the recent past when the wound was inflicted" (Robin A. Parry, *Lamentations,* The Two Horizons Old Testament Commentary [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010], 49, emphasis original). Parry does not cite the "many commentators and translators" who hold this view, nor does he outline the "several counts" on which reading ימי עניה ומרודיה as the complement is problematic. While the adverbial adjunct reading is not impossible, the word order suggests the habitual reading I have outlined above. My reading also eliminates the need for an "implicit" ב.

[47] Berlin, *Lamentations,* 46.

[48] See all of John A. Cook's work, but particularly *Time and the Hebrew Verb: The Expression of Tense, Aspect, and Modality in Biblical Hebrew,* Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic 7 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2012).

notes in the first sentence of the quotation above, the most obvious referent is the siege and destruction of Jerusalem.[49] Freedman advocates such a reading, rendering the text "Jerusalem ponders / the days of her affliction and homelessness – / all the precious possessions / which were hers from ancient times –".[50] Freedman explains,

> The second line is usually omitted in order to achieve the standard three-line pattern. It is true that the line disturbs the syntactic connections, especially between *ymy 'ny* etc. and *bnpl 'mh.* It also introduces a diversionary element, the glory of the early days, into an otherwise cohesive unit dealing with the current tragedy. Nevertheless, the vocabulary is characteristic of Lamentations, as well as the association of ideas.[51]

The disruption in the syntactic connection that Freedman identifies may be interpreted as enjambment. In this clause, זכרה is trivalent, taking a subject (ירושלם) and two complements: ימי עניה ומרודיה in 7a and כל מחמדיה in 7b.

[49] Another possibility is that ימי עניה ומרודיה refers to an even more distant time of affliction and wandering, namely, the affliction that the Israelites endured in Egypt and their wandering in the wilderness after Yhwh brought them out. Berlin argues that מעני ומרב עבדה in verse 3 "can be seen as an allusion to the enslavement in Egypt" given the use of מעני and עבדה in collocation in Gen 15:13, Ex 1:11, and Deut 26:6, where the referent is clearly Egyptian oppression (*Lamentations,* 51). Dobbs-Allsopp includes an excursus on allusions to the Egyptian captivity in Lam 1 (*Lamentations,* 75-77), but does not cite this text as an example. If ימי עניה ומרודיה is a reference to the oppression the Israelites endured in Egypt and their subsequent wilderness wanderings, "Jerusalem" in Lam 1:7a would be understood as a metonymy for the people of Israel, and כל מחמדיה in 7b may refer to Israel's leaders (Moses, Aaron, Miriam) in the desert. The message of such a reading is that wilderness wandering *with* God and the community of God's people is preferable to Jerusalem's current experience, namely, the absence of God and the diaspora of her people. While Yhwh came as the Israel's "help" when she was in Egypt, Israel had no helper when adversaries came to destroy Jerusalem (7c, d).

[50] Freedman, "Acrostics and Metrics in Hebrew Poetry" (1972; reprinted in *Pottery, Poetry, and Prophecy: Studies in Early Hebrew Poetry* [Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1980], 51-76, here 63).

[51] Freedman, "Acrostics and Metrics in Hebrew Poetry," 63.

4.1.24 Lamentations 1:7b

7b	כָּל מַחֲמַדֶּיהָ אֲשֶׁר הָיוּ מִימֵי קֶדֶם			
Translit	*kōl maḥămudêhā*	*ʾăšer hāyû*	*mîmê qedem*	
Word Level	PW1	PW2	PW3	
Const Level	C1	[– C2	C3	]
Synt Role	COMP TO זכרה IN 7A	[REL WORD V	COMP	]
		[RELATIVE CLAUSE MODIFYING כל מחמדיה]		
Translation	All of her precious things, which were from ancient days.			
Line Type	*Single dependent phrase line of 3C, 3PW*			

Line 7b begins with the NP כל מחמדיה, a complement to זכרה in line 7a. As such, this line is enjambed. The relative word has bound noun morphology, joining with היו to create the second prosodic word.[52] מימי is joined to קדם to form the third prosodic word in the line, the complement to היו. The relative clause modifies כל מחמדיה, the complement to the verb זכרה in 7a. Because the relative clause is a non-restrictive modifier, the items within the clause are counted as constituents.

The referent of כל מחמדיה is by no means clear, but Freedman's suggestion (see §4.1.23) that Jerusalem is oscillating between thinking about her current suffering and her former glory is plausible. Salters expresses a majority opinion amongst commentators when he writes, "In adversity, one's memories of the good life add significantly to one's agony and sorrow … this is further emphasised by the gloating of the foes and their mocking at her downfall."[53] Line 7b is a single dependent (on 7a) phrase line of three constituents and three prosodic words.

[52] Technically, אשר is bound to the entire clause [היו מימי קדם], but it is attached to the first word of that clause.

[53] Salters, *Lamentations,* 55. The gloating Salters refers to here is mentioned in lines 7e and f.

4.1.25 Lamentations 1:7c

7c	בִּנְפֹ֤ל עַמָּהּ֙ בְּיַד־צָ֔ר		
Translit	*binəpōl*	*ʿammāh*	*bəyad ṣār*
Word Level	PW1	PW2	PW3
Const Level	C1	C2	C3
Synt Role	V	S	AD
Translation	When her people fell into the hand of an adversary,		
Line Type	*Dependent temporal clause line of 3C, 3PW*		

Line 7c is a temporal clause that modifies the main clause in 7d: *A helper did not exist for her* (7d) when *her people fell into the hand of her adversary* (7c). Because line 7c is dependent on the main clause in 7d, the lines are enjambed. Line 7c is a dependent temporal clause line of three prosodic words and three constituents.

4.1.26 Lamentations 1:7d

7d	וְאֵ֥ין עוֹזֵ֖ר לָ֑הּ		
Translit	*wəʾên ʿôzēr*		*lāh*
Word Level	PW1		PW2
Const Level	C1	C2	C3
Synt Role	NEGV	S	AD
Translation	A helper did not exist for her.		
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 2PW*		

I take the ו attached to אין as semantically insignificant and used here only to mark the beginning of a main clause. Lamentations 1 has numerous lines that stress Zion's utter lack of companionship; this is one of several that uses אין to underline the non-existence of companions (cf. lines 2c, 7d, 9c, 17b, 21b). Line 7d is a single independent verbal clause of two prosodic words and three constituents.

4.1.27 Lamentations 1:7e

7e	רָאֻוהָ צָרִ֔ים	
Translit	*rāʾûhā*	*ṣārîm*
Word Level	PW1	PW2
Const Level	C1 C2	C3
Synt Role	V + AttProComp	S
Translation	Adversaries look at her;	
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 2PW*	

The first two constituents in this line are the verb ראה and its attached 3fs pronominal complement. The first prosodic word is followed by the subject of the verb, צרים. The VS word order indicates irrealis mood, used here to express habituality:[54] Jerusalem's adversaries constantly look at her. The context implies that they look on her with derision; the next line confirms that they look on her with *Schadenfreude*. Line 7e is a single independent verbal clause line of two prosodic words and three constituents.

4.1.28 Lamentations 1:7f

7f	שָׂחֲקוּ עַל מִשְׁבַּתֶּהָ׃	
Translit	*śāḥăqû*	*ʿal mišbattehā*
Word Level	PW1	PW2
Const Level	C1	C2
Synt Role	V	Ad
Translation	they laugh at her shattering.	
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 2C, 2PW*	

The first prosodic word in line 7f is also the first constituent, the verb שׂחקו. The second and third orthographic words (משׁבתה and על) make up the second prosodic word and second constituent, a PP adjunct to the verb. This is a short line, but combining it with 7e would exceed the

[54] On irrealis modality, see §4.1.20.

constituent constraint (lines contain between one and four phonologically expressed constituents, §2.3.3.4). Line 7f is a single clause line of two prosodic words and two constituents.

4.1.29 Lamentations 1:8a

8a	חֵטְא חָטְאָה יְרוּשָׁלַ͏ִם		
Translit	*ḥēṭʾ*	*ḥāṭəʾâ*	*yərûšālaim*
Word Level	PW1	PW2	PW3
Const Level	C1	C2	C3
Synt Role	COMP	V	S
Translation	A sin Jerusalem sinned;		
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 3PW, 3C*		

Line 8a marks the ח section of the acrostic. Given the patterns we have seen in 2a, 3a, 5a, 6a, and 7a, we might expect the line to start with a verb, but the poet begins with the complement to the verb. This is all the more striking given that the poet had the verbal form of חטא at hand (it is the second prosodic word), but chose to lead with the NP instead.[55]

Boulet addresses the use of cognate accusatives in BH, arguing that "Cognate accusatives in BH do not form a distinct group alongside arguments, modifiers, and secondary predicates. Rather, cognate accusatives are, variously, arguments, modifiers and secondary predicates that just happen to be cognate with the verb."[56] In 7b חטא is an indefinite, unmodified complement to the verb. חטא has been fronted, which is to say, it has been moved from its default position to the front of the clause.[57] Its placement at the beginning of the clause places emphasis on the sin (rather than, e.g., Jerusalem's predisposition or habit to sin, which could be expressed by VS word order). The sin in question is Jerusalem's apostasy which led to exile (line 3a).[58] Line 8a is a single independent verbal clause line of three prosodic words and three constituents.

[55] The editors of BHS apparently noticed the surprising word order, as evidenced by their note proposing infinitival חָטֹא for this form.

[56] Boulet, "A Linguistic Reappraisal of the Biblical Hebrew Accusative," 174.

[57] Holmstedt, "Critical at the Margins: Edge Constituents in Biblical Hebrew," 115.

4.1.30 Lamentations 1:8b

8b	עַל־כֵּן לְנִידָה הָיְתָה		
Translit	*ʿal kēn*	*lənîdâ*	*hāyātâ*
Word Level	PW1	PW2	PW3
Const Level	C1	C2	C3
Synt Role	AD	COMP	V
Translation	For this reason she became an impure thing.		
Line Type	*Dependent verbal clause line of 3C, 3PW*		

Line 8b is a result clause: Jerusalem sinned a sin (8a), *for this reason,* she became an impure thing (8b). The poet is partial to the ל + היה construction, having used it in 1d (היתה למס), line 2e (היו לה לאיבים), and line 5a (היו צריה לראשׁ), as well as the כ + היה construction in 1b (היתה כאלמנה) and 6b (היו שׂריה כאילים). In 8b the ל + היה construction underlines Jerusalem's bitter transformation, and alongside the previous examples, both Jerusalem's and her enemies' reversal of fortunes.

על־כן is a fronted PP. The fronting could serve Topic or Focusing purposes, but I think the former makes most sense here.[59] על־כן is followed by a second PP (לנידה), which has been fronted for Focusing purposes:[60] *For this reason* [Topic], *she became* ***an impure thing*** [**Focus**].

When read together, 8a and 8b place an emphasis on sin and its consequences. In both lines, the complement comes immediately before the verb: *A sin Jerusalem sinned / for this reason, an*

[58] Boulet cites a strikingly similar example in Exod 32:30 (אַתֶּם חֲטָאתֶם חֲטָאָה גְדֹלָה), which he renders, "You have sinned a big sin." Boulet explains that in the last clause of Exod 32:30, "Moses says, 'Maybe I can atone for your sin,' with 'sin' in the singular. The following verse reads as follows: 'and Moses returned to Yahweh and said, "Please, this people has sinned a big sin. They have made themselves a god of gold"' (Exod 32:31). In the context it is clear that there is a single grievous sin at issue. While Moses was on the mountain the people 'acted corruptly' (32:7) by 'making for themselves a cast image of a calf' (32:8). This single sin is so abominable that God considers obliterating the people and starting fresh with Moses (32:10)" ("A Linguistic Reappraisal of the Biblical Hebrew Accusative," 199). While חטא is not modified by the adjective גדלה in Lam 1:8, the singularity of the abominable sin of apostasy is highlighted in both passages.

[59] On Topic and Focus, see §4.1.4 and §4.1.14.

[60] Fronted constituents are moved from their default position to a position near the front of the clause, but left dislocated constituents stand on the edge of the clause proper (see Holmstedt, "Critical at the Margins: Edge Constituents in Biblical Hebrew," 115, 119 and my previous discussion of LD in §4.1.14).

impure thing she became. Even without the על־כן, the tight correspondence between these lines is made evident by their word order. Line 8b is a dependent verbal clause of three prosodic words and three constituents.

4.1.31 Lamentations 1:8c

8c	כָּל־מְכַבְּדֶיהָ הִזִּילוּהָ	
Translit	*kol məkabbədêhā*	*hizzîlûhā*
Word Level	PW1	PW2
Const Level	C1	C2 C3
Synt Role	S	V + AttProComp
Translation	All those who honour her [now] despise her	
Line Type	*Independent verbal clause line of 3C, 2PW*	

Line 8c begins with an unmarked participial relative embedded within the subject NP. כל is bound to the participial relative מכבדיה by cliticization, creating the first prosodic word. As the subject of the clause, כל מכבדיה is also the first constituent. The second prosodic word contains the second and third constituents, the verb and its attached complement. Line 8c is an independent verbal clause line of two prosodic words and three constituents.

4.1.32 Lamentations 1:8d

8d	כִּי־רָאוּ עֶרְוָתָהּ		
Translit	*kî*	*rāʾû*	*ʿerwātāh*
Word Level	PW1	PW2	PW3
Const Level	–	C1	C2
Synt Role	SUBORD PART	V	COMP
Translation	because they have seen her nakedness		
Line Type	*Dependent verbal clause line of 2C, 3PW*		

Line 8d is a causal clause that provides the reason for the preceding clause: *Those who honoured her now despise her* because *they have seen her nakedness*. כי is a prosodic word because it is not joined to another word by cliticization. However, כי is neither a verb nor a verbal argument, so it is not counted as a constituent. The second prosodic word and first constituent of line 8d is the verb ראו, followed by its complement, the final prosodic word and second constituent of the line.

4.1.33 Lamentations 1:8e

8e	גַּם־הִיא נֶאֱנְחָה וַתָּשָׁב אָחוֹר׃			
Translit	*gam hîʾ*	*neʾenḥâ*	*wattāšob*	*ʾāḥôr*
Word Level	PW1	PW2	PW3	PW4
Const Level	– C1	C2	C3	C4
Synt Role	EMPH S	V	V	AD
Translation	Indeed, she groaned and turned away			
Line Type	*Double clause line of 4C, 4PW*			

The first prosodic word is made up of the emphatic particle גם (“indeed”) and the subject, היא. The first clause is גם־היא נאנחה; the second clause is the verb ותשב followed by a PP modifier, אחור. Line 8e is a double clause line of four prosodic words and four constituents.

4.1.34 Lamentations 1:9a

9a	טֻמְאָתָהּ בְּשׁוּלֶיהָ לֹא זָכְרָה אַחֲרִיתָהּ				
Translit	*ṭumʾātāh*	*bəšûlêhā*	*lōʾ zākərâ*	*ʾaḥărîtāh*	
Word Level	PW1	PW2	PW3	PW4	
Const Level	C1	C2	C3	C4	
Synt Role	S [V]	COMP	NEG + V	COMP	
Translation	Her uncleanness [is] on her skirts – she did not consider her end –				
Line Type	*Double clause line of 4C, 4PW*				

The first prosodic word and constituent in 9a is the subject טמאתה. The verb in the first clause is null, and the complement is the PP בשׁוליה. The third prosodic word and constituent in 9a begins a new clause that consists of the negation + verb and its complement.

I understand the second clause as parenthetical. While biblical scholars and translators have long identified parenthetical clauses, syntactic criteria for identifying the phenomenon was scattershot until Holmstedt provided an initial set of linguistically grounded criteria for distinguishing examples of parenthesis in the Hebrew Bible.[61] Holmstedt explains, "It is clear from the linguistic literature that parenthesis consists of a clause or phrase that is linearly integrated *within* a host clause."[62] Parenthetical clauses exhibit both main clause and subordinate clause features, but are, in fact, neither:[63] "Syntactically, parentheses are linearly integrated into their host clauses and yet not hierarchically dependent on or integrated into the host clauses."[64] The host clause is also not dependent on the parenthetic clause.[65] Holmstedt notes that "this linear-

[61] Robert D. Holmstedt, "Parenthesis in Biblical Hebrew as noncoordinative nonsubordination," *Brill's Journal of Afroasiatic Languages and Linguistics* 12 (2020): 99-118.

[62] Holmstedt, "Parenthesis in Biblical Hebrew," 103.

[63] Holmstedt, "Parenthesis in Biblical Hebrew," 106.

[64] Holmstedt, "Parenthesis in Biblical Hebrew," 106.

[65] Holmstedt, "Parenthesis in Biblical Hebrew," 106.

but-not-hierarchical-integration description does not fully circumscribe parenthesis, primarily because the same description could apply to simple coordination."[66] Holmstedt explains:

> From the voluminous linguistic literature on parenthesis, two issues stand out as particularly relevant for distinguishing parenthesis from non-parenthesis…: the non-at-issue truth conditional status of parentheses and their syntactic "invisibility." Parentheses are conventional implicatures so are not part of the assertive content of an utterance but are secondary or non-at-issue entailments (Potts 2005; see also Blakemore 2007, 2009). As conventional implicatures, parentheses present a proposition that is distinct, "sealed off," from the proposition of the host clause.[67]

Holmstedt's description applies to Lam 1:9a. The two propositions (*Her uncleanness* [*is*] *on her skirts* and *she did not consider her end*) are "pragmatically integrated so that, while their respective truth-conditional content remains distinct, the parenthesis enriches the interpretation of the host clause."[68] The parenthetic clause presents a proposition that is distinct from the proposition of the host clause. Removing the parenthetic clause would not disturb the grammaticality of the line, nor would it make the flow of thought from 9a to 9b unintelligible; it is "sealed off." At the same time, the parenthesis enriches our understanding of both 9a and 9b because it provides insight into the personified Jerusalem's state of mind when she sinned (8a).

Syntactic invisibility refers to a clause's inability to maintain c-command relations with the constituents in a parenthetical host.[69] Mark de Vries has identified a set of ten linguistic criteria for identifying parentheses on the basis of syntactic invisibility,[70] but due to our inability to check semantic judgments with native speakers or to produce counter-examples in BH, Holmstedt has argued that only two of these criteria are applicable: "parentheses are *allowed* to exhibit a discontinuity in (1) clause type and (2) verb type."[71] The clauses in 9a exhibit

---

[66] Holmstedt, "Parenthesis in Biblical Hebrew," 107.

[67] Holmstedt, "Parenthesis in Biblical Hebrew," 107.

[68] Holmstedt, "Parenthesis in Biblical Hebrew," 107.

[69] Holmstedt, "Parenthesis in Biblical Hebrew," 108.

[70] Mark de Vries, "Parenthetical main clauses – or not? On appositives and quasi-relatives," in *Main Clause Phenomena: New Horizons,* ed. by L. Aelbrecht, L. Haegeman and R. Nye (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2012), 177-201.

[71] Holmstedt, "Parenthesis in Biblical Hebrew," 108, italics original. The emphasis is important because "parentheses do not necessarily differ in clause type or verb type from their host clause … If the clause type or verb type differ, we may conclude a parenthesis to be present; if neither type differ, a parenthesis may still be present, but

discontinuity in verb type: the first clause in 9a has a null copula, while the parenthetic clause has a phonologically expressed *qatal* form. The change in subject (טמאתה in the first clause, null in the second), verb (null in the first clause, *qatal* in the second), and semantics (from a positive to negative clause) all signal the change to not-at-issue information. Line 9a is a double clause line of four prosodic words and four constituents.

4.1.35 Lamentations 1:9b

9b	וַתֵּרֶד פְּלָאִים	
Translit	*wattērēd*	*pəlāʾîm*
Word Level	PW1	PW2
Const Level	C1	C2
Synt Role	V	AD
Translation	she went down spectacularly.	
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 2C, 2PW*	

Line 9b is a single independent verbal clause line of two prosodic words and two constituents. The verb ירד is monovalent, taking a NP adjunct (פלאים) that functions adverbially.

4.1.36 Lamentations 1:9c

9c	אֵין מְנַחֵם לָהּ		
Translit	*ʾên*	*mənaḥēm*	*lāh*
Word Level	PW1		PW2
Const Level	C1	C2	C3
Synt Role	NEGV	S	AD
Translation	(One) (who) comforts does not exist for her.		
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 2PW*		

unmarked for these features" (108).

The first prosodic word in line 9c is אֵין־מְנַחֵם, two orthographic words joined by cliticization. Within this one prosodic word lie two constituents: the negative predicator אין and its subject, מנחם. This line has the same syntactic structure as 7d (ואין עוזר לה), and I read אין in both lines as existential.[72] This line echoes 2b (אין־לה מנחם מכל־אהביה), but rearranges the word order; verse 2 describes the city's loneliness due to the abandonment of her lovers and friends (אהביה in line 2c, רעיה in 2d), whereas 9c describes her isolation in the context of impurity. The negative predicator's subject is מנחם, a relative participle with a null subject: [Subject: (One) (who) comforts] [Neg Verb: does not exist] [PP Comp: for her]. This leads her to cry out to Yhwh, the only one who may take pity on her, in 9d.

4.1.37 Lamentations 1:9d

9d	רְאֵה יְהוָה אֶת־עָנְיִי		
Translit	*rəʾēh*	*yhwh*	*ʾet ʿonyî*
Word Level	PW1	PW2	PW3
Const Level	C1	–	C2
Synt Role	V	VOC	COMP
Translation	"See, O Yhwh, my affliction,		
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 2C, 3PW*		

The first prosodic word and constituent in the line is the imperative ראה. The second prosodic word is not a constituent because the vocative is not a verb, nor a modifier or argument of the verb. The third and fourth orthographic words are joined by cliticization to create the third prosodic word. The third prosodic word is also a constituent because it is the complement to the verb.

In all of the preceding lines of the poem, the city is seen but not heard. In 9d she breaks her silence, crying out to God with imperatival and vocative forms. Jerusalem has become an object of scorn because her lovers-turned-enemies saw her nakedness (ראו ערותה, line 8d). In 9d

[72] The existential reading of אין in 7d and 9c differs from the predicational reading of אין in 2c (אֵין־לָהּ מְנַחֵם מִכָּל־אֹהֲבֶיהָ), *She has no (one who) comforts among all who love her*.

Jerusalem calls on Yhwh to see (ראה) her pitiable condition. Jerusalem has good grounds for doing so; the God of Israel has a long history of taking note (ראה) of affliction (עני) and being moved by compassion to act.[73]

4.1.38 Lamentations 1:9e

9e	כִּי הִגְדִּיל אוֹיֵב׃		
Translit	*kî*	*higdîl*	*ʾôyēb*
Word Level	PW1	PW2	PW3
Const Level	–	C1	C2
Synt Role	[COMPLEMENTIZER	V	S]
	COMPLEMENTIZER CLAUSE MODIFYING את־עניי IN 1:9d		
Translation	that [the] enemy has become great!"		
Line Type	*Single dependent verbal clause line of 2C, 3PW*		

The כִּי at the beginning of 9e presents a few syntactic possibilities. First, כִּי could introduce a causal clause:[74] *See, O Yhwh, my affliction, /* because [*the*] *enemy has become great!* Second, כִּי could introduce an exclamative clause:[75] *See, O Yhwh, my affliction! /* Indeed*, the enemy has become great!* Third, כִּי could introduce a complementizer clause in non-restrictive apposition to the NP in 9d (את־עניי):[76] *See, O Yhwh my affliction, /* that (is to say) [*the*] *enemy has become great!*

The causal reading has its merits, but I do not find it the most compelling option. Verse 8 states that Jerusalem finds herself in an afflicted state because she sinned, and the parenthetic clause in line 9a reinforces that idea by positing that she is unclean because she did not consider her end.

---

[73] Examples of יהוה / אלהים seeing [ראה] God's people's affliction [עני] and being moved to act include: Gen 16:11, 29:32, 31:42; Ex 3:7, 4:31; Deut 26:7; 1 Sam 1:11; 2 Kings 14:26; Psalm 31:8; Neh 9:9. Other examples of persons calling on God to see their affliction include Psalm 9:14, 25:18, 119:153.

[74] BHRG §40.29.1.(3); JM §170.d; GKC §158b; WOC §38.4a.

[75] BHRG §40.29.2.(4), in which כִּי is said to function "as a modal adverb"; JM §164.b refers to this use as "asseverative"; GKC§159ee refers to this use as "corroborative"; WOC §39.3.4.e.

[76] BHRG §40.29.2.(1); JM §157.c, e; GKC §157b; WOC §38.8.18.

While the idea of Jerusalem's affliction being caused by *sin* (line 8a, b) and the idea of Jerusalem's affliction being caused by *the greatness of her enemy* (line 9e) are not mutually exclusive, it seems to me that the former is more prominent in these verses, and therefore the causal reading in 9e is not compelling.

The exclamative reading (*See, O Yhwh, my affliction! /* Indeed*, the enemy has become great!*) is also plausible, but such an interpretation does not relate 9d to 9e in as compelling a way as the appositive complementizer reading. An exclamative reading draws attention to Jerusalem's enemy more than to her own plight, whereas the appositive complementizer reading keeps the focus on personified Jerusalem herself. She calls on God to consider (ראה) her affliction (עניי, a repetition of the lexeme עני from 7a) and then details her suffering at the hand of her enemy (10a, repeating צר and יד from 7c) and the loss of her precious things (10a, repeating מחמדיה from line 7b). The appositive complementizer interpretation propels Yhwh/the audience on to 10a, where the recitation of the enemy's terrible deeds forces us to bear witness to how great Jerusalem's enemy has become. The non-restrictive appositive complementizer clause modifies את־עניי, the complement of the verb in 9d. Line 9e is a single dependent verbal clause line of three prosodic words and two constituents.

4.1.39 Lamentations 1:10a

10a	יָדוֹ֩ פָּרַ֨שׂ צָ֜ר עַ֣ל כָּל־מַחֲמַדֶּ֗יהָ			
Translit	*yādô*	*pāraś*	*ṣār*	*ʿal kol mahămaddêhā*
Word Level	PW1	PW2	PW3	PW4
Const Level	C1	C2	C3	C4
Synt Role	COMP	V	S	AD
Translation	The adversary stretched his hand over all her precious things,			
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 4C, 4PW*			

Line 10a marks the י section of the acrostic. The poet has shifted from direct speech in lines 9d and e to third person narration in 10a. The first prosodic word of the line has been fronted to

mark it for Topic. Line 9e describes the enemy as having become great, and fronting ידו in 10a marks the adversary's *hand* as the instrument with which it plundered the city.

The first prosodic word is also the first constituent because it is the complement to the verb פרשׂ, the second prosodic word and constituent. The third prosodic word and constituent is the subject, צר, and the final prosodic word and constituent is the PP adjunct, על כל־מחמדיה. Line 10a is a single independent verbal clause line of four prosodic words and four constituents.

4.1.40 Lamentations 1:10b

10b	כִּי־רָאֲתָה גוֹיִם בָּאוּ מִקְדָּשָׁהּ						
Translit	*kî*	*rāʾătâ*	*gôyim*		*bāʾû*	*miqdāšāh*	
Word Level	PW1	PW2	PW3	[	PW4	PW5	]
Const Level	–	C1	C2	[	C3	C4	]
Synt Role	EMPH	V	COMP	[REL CLAUSE MODIFYING גוים			]
Translation	She saw nations [that] entered her sanctuary!,						
Line Type	*Independent verbal clause line of 4C, 5PW*						

Line 10b begins with כי, which I read as emphatic and represent with an exclamation point in translation. כי is not cliticized so it is counted as a prosodic word, but כי is not counted as a constituent because it is not a verb nor an argument or modifier of a verb. As the main verb in the line, ראתה is the second prosodic word and first constituent of 10b. The complement to the main verb in the line is גוים, which is also the third prosodic word and second constituent. The unmarked non-restrictive relative clause (באו מקדשׁה) modifies גוים. The items in non-restrictive modifiers are counted as constituents, so באו is the fourth prosodic word and third constituent, and מקדשׁה is the fifth prosodic word and fourth constituent.

4.1.41 Lamentations 1:10c

10c	אֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתָה לֹא־יָבְאוּ בַקָּהָל לָךְ׃
Translit	*ʾăšer ṣiwwîtâ lōʾ yābōʾû baqqāhāl lāk*
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3 PW4
Const Level	– C1 C2 C3
Synt Role	REL WORD V [NEG + V PP COMP]
	[UNMARKED COMPLEMENT CLAUSE]
Translation	[Nations] that you commanded may not enter your assembly.
Line Type	*Dependent clause line of 3C, 4PW*

Line 10c is an extraposed non-restrictive relative clause that modifies גוים in 10c. The relative word אשׁר has bound noun morphology, joining with צויתה to create the first prosodic word.[77] The verb צויתה takes an unmarked complement clause, לא־יבאו בקהל לך.[78] The third prosodic word is לא־יבאו. As a verb within an unmarked complement clause, לא־יבאו is also a constituent. בקהל and לה are each prosodic words because they are not joined by cliticization. Together, they make up the third constituent, the PP complement to לא־יבאו.

4.1.42 Lamentations 1:11a

11a	כָּל־עַמָּהּ נֶאֱנָחִים מְבַקְּשִׁים לֶחֶם
Translit	*kol ʾammāh neʾĕnāḥîm məbaqqəšîm leḥem*
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3 PW4
Const Level	C1 C2 C3
Synt Role	S [V] PRED SP
Translation	All of her people [are] groaning, seeking bread;
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 4PW*

[77] Technically, אשׁר is bound to the entire clause [צויתה לא־יבאו בקהל לך], but it is attached to the first word of that clause.

[78] Normally the verb צוה takes a NP or infinitive clause complement; according to *DCH,* this may be the only example of צוה taking a finite clause complement (*DCH,* s.v. "צוה").

Verse 11a marks the כ section of the acrostic. The orthographic words כל and עמה are joined by cliticization to form the first prosodic word, כל־עמה. As the subject of the null copula, כל־עמה is also the first constituent. The second prosodic word and constituent is נאנחים, the predicate to the null copula. The third prosodic word is מבקשׁים, a secondary predicate.

As I explained in §4.1.18, a secondary predicate is "any non-finite predicate that occurs under the scope of another, primary predicate, whether by adjunction or as a complement."[79] The participial form מבקשׁים is a non-finite predicate that occurs under the scope of the primary predicate, נאנחים. The copula sets the time reference for the main event, נאנחים. The secondary predicate (מבקשׁים) is adjoined.

Boulet argues that one of the essential properties of predication is that every predication head introduces an event variable.[80] An *event* is "defined loosely such that actions, changes, and states are all types of 'eventuality.'"[81] Simple predicates feature a single Pr head and a single event variable, while complex predicates involve multiple Pr heads and multiple event variables.[82] כל־ עמה נאנחים מבקשׁים לחם involves two Pr heads and two event variables: נאנחים and מבקשׁים. The predicate נאנחים shares a subject (כל־עמה) with the secondary predicate, מבקשׁים. The predicate נאנחים is monovalent, taking only a subject, but the secondary predicate, מבקשׁים is bivalent, taking a subject and a complement, לחם. The secondary predicate מבקשׁים is a subject-oriented, depictive secondary predicate that describes the state of the subject, כל־עמה.[83]

For the purposes of poetic analysis, מבקשׁים לחם is a single constituent consisting of two prosodic words. BH participles can select complements (in this case, לחם), but the entire

---

[79] Boulet, "Linguistic Appraisal," 29.

[80] Boulet outlines three essential properties of predication: 1. Every predication has at least one Pr head, whether verbal, copular, or secondary; 2. Each Pr head links a subject in Spec PrP to a predicate in Comp Pr; and 3. Each Pr_n introduces an event variable e_n (Boulet, "Linguistic Reappraisal," 17-18).

[81] Boulet, "Linguistic Reappraisal," 17.

[82] Boulet, "Linguistic Reappraisal," 19.

[83] For the characteristics of depictive predicates, please see §4.1.18.

participial phrase functions as a secondary predicate.[84] Lam 1:11a is a single independent verbal clause line of three constituents and four prosodic words.

4.1.43 Lamentations 1:11b

11b	נָתְנוּ מַחֲמוֹדֵיהֶם [מַחֲמַדֵּיהֶם] בְּאֹכֶל לְהָשִׁיב נָפֶשׁ				
Translit	*nātənû*	*maḥămaddêhem*	*bəʾōkel*	*ləhāšîb*	*nāpeš*
Word Level	PW1	PW2	PW3	PW4	PW5
Const Level	C1	C2	C3	C4	
Synt Role	V	COMP	AD	AD	
Translation	They trade their precious things in exchange for food to restore life.				
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line (with dependent infinitival clause) 4CW, 5PW*				

The first prosodic word and constituent in line 11b is the verb נתנו. The second prosodic word and constituent is the verb's complement, מחמדיהם; the subject of the verb is null. The third prosodic word and constituent in the line is a PP adjunct, באכל. The fourth and fifth prosodic words together make up the fourth constituent, a dependent infinitive clause. The infinitive clause is an adjunct to the main verb, נתנו. Items within a dependent clause are not counted as constituents; the dependent clause itself is counted as a constituent.

[84] Boulet, "Linguistic Appraisal," 26.

4.1.44 Lamentations 1:11c

11c	רְאֵה יְהוָה וְהַבִּיטָה		
Translit	*rəʾēh*	*yhwh*	*wəhabbîṭâ*
Word Level	PW1	PW2	PW3
Const Level	C1	–	C2
Synt Role	V	VOC	V
Translation	"Look, O Yhwh, and see		
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 2C, 3PW*		

After falling silent in verse 10, Jerusalem speaks again in 11c. The first prosodic word and constituent is the imperatival form ראה, followed by the second prosodic word, יהוה. Because יהוה is not a verb nor a modifier or argument of the verb, it is counted as a prosodic word but not as a constituent. The third prosodic word and second constituent is הביטה, whose complement is delayed until the line 11d. Therefore, 11c and d are enjambed.

4.1.45 Lamentations 1:11d

11d	כִּי הָיֵיתִי זוֹלֵלָה׃		
Translit	*kî*	*hāyîtî*	*zôlēlâ*
Word Level	[PW1	PW2	PW3]
Const Level	[	C1	]
Synt Role	[COMP TO הביטה in 9c]		
Translation	that I am worthless!"		
Line Type	*Complement clause line of 1C, 3PW*		

The כי at the beginning of 11d presents a few syntactic possibilities (cf. lines 9d, e). First, כי could introduce a causal clause: *Look, O Yhwh, and see /* because *I am worthless!* Second, כי could introduce an exclamative clause: *Look, O Yhwh, and see /* Indeed*, I am worthless!* Third, כי

could introduce a complement clause to הביטה in 11c: *Look, O Yhwh, and see /* that *I am worthless!*[85]

I find the complementizer reading most persuasive because it indicates what the personified city wants Yhwh to see. In the preceding six lines, the poet has described the plunder of Jerusalem and her people's resulting plight. In 11c, the woman interrupts the third person narration to draw Yhwh's attention to her worthless state. While the woman might be justifying *why* she wants Yhwh to look and see (the causal reading), or she may be emphatically stating that she has lost status (the exclamative reading), it seems most likely that the imperatives in 11c are imploring God to see something specific – *that* she has become worthless.

While כי, היתה, and זוללה are all prosodic words, it is the complement clause itself that is a constituent, the complement to הביטה in 11c. Line 11d is a complement clause line of three prosodic words and one constituent.

4.1.46 Lamentations 1:12a

12a	לֹוא אֲלֵיכֶם כָּל־עֹבְרֵי דָּרֶךְ
Translit	*lô᾽ ᾽ălêkem kol ʿōbrê derek*
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3
Const Level	C1 C2 C3
Synt Role	NEG+[V] COMP AD
Translation	[I am] not [worthless] to you, all passersby [on the] way!
Line Type	*Single null copula clause line of 3C, 3PW*

The syntax in 12a is elliptical. As I discussed in §2.3.2.1, ellipsis in BH poetry consists of two *conjuncts,* i.e., two conjoined structures of the same type. In this case, line 11d and 12a are the conjuncts. In an elliptical construction, the *elided constituent* is the constituent that is omitted but whose presence is understood. In this case, the elided constituent in 12a is 11d's הייתי זוללה:

[85] Qal ראה and Hiphil נבט do not *require* a complement; e.g., Hiphil נבט does not take a complement in Lam 2:20 or 5:1, but it does take a complement in 3:63 and 4:16.

11d: *kî hāyîtî zôlēlâ*	| 12a: *lôʾ* [*hāyîtî zôlēlâ*] *ʾălêkem kol ʿōbrê derek*
11d: that I am worthless	| 12a: [I am] not [worthless] to you, all passersby on the way!

The first prosodic word and constituent is לוא, which combines with the elided verb's copula to create the first constituent in the clause. The second prosodic word and constituent is the PP complement to the copula, אליכם. Jerusalem tells the passersby that she is not worthless to them. The logic of such a reading is that Jerusalem, though she is apparently "worthless", is valuable to the passersby because she serves as a warning to the nations; God has inflicted this punishment on Jerusalem in order to to warn all who see her to fear Yhwh.[86]

4.1.47 Lamentations 1:12b

12b	הַבִּיטוּ וּרְאוּ	
Translit	*habbîṭû*	*ûrəʾû*
Word Level	PW1	PW2
Const Level	C1	C2
Synt Role	V	V
Translation	Look and see	
Line Type	*Double clause line of 2C, 2PW*	

In lines 9d and 11c, Jerusalem's רְאֵה is directed at Yhwh, but in 12b, she seems to have given up crying out to God, opting to yell at passing pedestrians instead. Similarly, the second imperative (הביטו) echoes Jerusalem's plea to Yhwh in 11c, but is here directed at passersby. Line 12b is a double clause line of two prosodic words and two constituents.

[86] Provan articulates a similar reading of this verse, although his understanding of the syntax differs from mine: "The thought is that God has inflicted the disaster precisely so that the onlookers may view its consequences" (*Lamentations,* 48).

4.1.48 Lamentations 1:12c

12c	אִם־יֵ֣שׁ מַכְאוֹב֮ כְּמַכְאֹבִ֒י			
Translit	*ʾim*	*yēš*	*makʾôb*	*kəmakʾōbî*
Word Level	PW1	PW2	PW3	PW4
Const Level	–	C1	C2	C3
Synt Role	FN	V	S	AD
Translation	If a pain exists like my pain –			
Line Type	*Dependent verbal clause line of 3C, 4PW*			

The אם at the beginning of line 12c introduces a subordinate clause. אם is not a constituent because it is neither a verb nor a modifier or argument of a verb. The first constituent is the existential word יש, which like אין (lines 2c, 7d, 9c) functions as a verb. The second prosodic word and constituent is מכאוב, and the third prosodic word and constituent is a PP adjunct of comparison.

4.1.49 Lamentations 1:12d

12d	אֲשֶׁר עוֹלַ֥ל לִ֛י		
Translit	*ʾăšer*	*ʿôlal*	*lî*
Word Level	PW1		PW2
Const Level	–	C1	C2
Synt Role	REL WORD	V	COMP
Translation	which he dealt out [it] on me,		
Line Type	*Dependent verbal clause line of 2C, 2PW*		

Line 12d is a non-restrictive relative clause that modifies מכאובי (the fourth PW) in line 12c. The relative word אֲשֶׁר has bound morphology, joining with עולל to create the first prosodic word. Because אשר is not a verb, verbal argument, or verbal modifier, it is not counted as a constituent. The first constituent in this line is the verb עולל, *to deal out*. עולל requires two

complements, the thing that is "dealt", and the recipient of the action. The first complement is null, so it is not counted as a constituent; it is the null resumption of the relative head: [*my pain* rel head, 12c] *that he dealt out* (*it*) [null resumption of head, 12d]. This is followed by the second complement, the PP לי *to me* [recipient]. Line 12d is a dependent verbal clause line of two prosodic words and two constituents; because it is dependent on 12c, the lines are enjambed.

4.1.50 Lamentations 1:12e

12e	אֲשֶׁר הוֹגָה יְהוָה בְּיוֹם חֲרוֹן אַפּוֹ׃			
Translit	*ʾăšer*	*hôgâh*	*yhwh*	*bəyôm ḥărôn ʾappô*
Word Level	PW1		PW2	PW3
Const Level	–	C1	C2	C3
Synt Role	REL WORD	V	S	AD
Translation	which Yhwh has caused [me] to suffer on the day of his burning anger.			
Line Type	*Dependent verbal clause line of 3C, 3PW*			

Line 12e is another relative clause modifying מכאובי (the fourth PW in 12c). The relative word אֲשֶׁר has bound morphology, joining with הוגה to form the first prosodic word in the line. The אשר triggers word order inversion, with the verb הוגה preceding its subject, יהוה. The final three orthographic words make up one prosodic word because they are cliticized. This prosodic word is also a constituent because it is a PP adjunct to the main verb. Line 12e is a dependent verbal clause line of three prosodic words and three constituents.

4.1.51 Lamentations 1:13a

13a	מִמָּרוֹם שָׁלַח־אֵשׁ		
Translit	*mimmārôm*	*šālaḥ*	*ʾēš*
Word Level	PW1	PW2	PW3
Const Level	C1	C2	C3
Synt Role	AD	V	COMP
Translation	From [the] heights he sent fire,		
Line Type	*Independent verbal clause line of 3C, 3PW*		

Line 13a marks the מ section of the acrostic. This section shifts from longer lines in verse 12 to a series of short lines in verse 13. While it is impossible to say why the poet decided on this series of short lines, the effect is a rapid narration of actions that Yhwh took against Jerusalem (13a-e), and the effect of these actions on the city (13f).

The locative PP ממרום is fronted for Topic, setting the scene for the events that follow and accommodating the acrostic structure of the poem. The locative PP is the first prosodic word and constituent in the line, followed by the verb שלח and its complement אש. Line 13a is an independent verbal clause line of three prosodic words and three constituents.

4.1.52 Lamentations 1:13b

13b	בְּעַצְמֹתַי וַיִּרְדֶּנָּה		
Translit	*bəʿaṣmōtay*	*wayyirdennâ*	
Word Level	PW1	PW2	
Const Level	C1	C2	C3
Synt Role	AD	V + ATTPROCOMP	
Translation	Into my bones, he ruled over it.		
Line Type	*Dependent verbal clause line of 3C, 2PW*		

Line 13b is enjambed because it is dependent on the main clause in 13a. Like 13a, line 13b begins with a locative PP. This line features a PP followed by a Past Narrative form and is an example of what Holmstedt calls extreme topic fronting. These constructions are not dislocation because they lack resumption. Whereas "Fronting refers to the construction in which a constituent is moved from its default position to a position near the front of the clause" to mark Topic *or* Focus,[87] extreme fronting takes place when an item moves to a left-adjoined projection of the CP, and is used exclusively to mark Topic:[88]

> Whereas typical fronting is inherently ambiguous with regard to the Topic or Focus status of the fronted phrase … [extreme Topic fronting] ***forces*** a Topic interpretation. In other words, the extreme fronting of the Topic phrase is a disambiguation strategy to ensure that the listener/reader understands that the fronted constituent is not a Focus, but a Topic.[89]

In this line, Yhwh (12e) has sent fire from on high (13a) into the personified city's bones (13b). בעצמתי is marked as the Topic of the clause and has a scene-setting function: בעצמתי is the destination for the fire that Yhwh sends. The subject of וירדנה is Yhwh (12e), and the referent of the 3 fs attached pronoun is אֵשׁ (line 13a). Line 13b is a dependent verbal clause line of two prosodic words and three constituents.

4.1.53 Lamentations 1:13c

13c	פָּרַשׂ רֶשֶׁת לְרַגְלָי		
Translit	*pāraś*	*rešet*	*ləraglay*
Word Level	PW1	PW2	PW3
Const Level	C1	C2	C3
Synt Role	V	COMP	AD
Translation	He spread a net for my feet,		
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 3PW*		

[87] Holmstedt, "Critical at the Margins," 115.

[88] Holmstedt, "Critical at the Margins," 150.

[89] Holmstedt, "Critical at the Margins," 148.

Line 13c is a straightforward single independent verbal clause line of three prosodic words and three constituents.

4.1.54 Lamentations 1:13d

13d	הֱשִׁיבַנִי אָחֹור
Translit	*hĕšîbanî* *ʾāḥôr*
Word Level	PW1 PW2
Const Level	C1 C2 C3
Synt Role	V + AttProComp Ad
Translation	He made me turn back,
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 2PW*

The first prosodic word in 13d is השיבני, containing the first and second constituents, the verb and its attached complement. The second prosodic word is a PP locative adjunct. Line 13d is a single independent verbal clause line of two prosodic words and three constituents.

4.1.55 Lamentations 1:13e

13e	נְתָנַנִי שֹׁמֵמָה
Translit	*nətānanî* *šōmēmâ*
Word Level	PW1 PW2
Const Level	C1 C2 C3
Synt Role	V + AttProComp Comp
Translation	He made me desolate –
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 2PW*

Like line 13d, the first prosodic word in 13e contains the first and second constituents (the verb נתן and its 1csg attached pronoun complement). נתן is bivalent here, taking two complements;

the second complement is the participial form שממה. Line 13e is a single independent verbal clause line of two prosodic words and three constituents.

4.1.56 Lamentations 1:13f

13f	כָּל־הַיּוֹם דָּוֶה׃		
Translit	*kol hayyôm*		*dāwâ*
Word Level	PW1		PW2
Const Level	C1		C2
Synt Role	AD	[V]	COMP
Translation	Every day (I) (am) faint.		
Line Type	*Single null copula clause line of 2C, 2PW*		

The first two orthographic words in 13f are cliticized to form the first prosodic word, כל־היום. This temporal NP adjunct is fronted, serving as a scene-setting Topic constituent, orienting the reader/listener to the temporal quality of the predication in the null copula clause.[90]

כל is a quantifier.[91] Jacobus Naudé explains that quantifiers can be divided into two general types:

> *All-type* quantifiers are used with uncountable entities and/or with a series of entities consisting of three or more members [*all*]; the quantifier is a basic collective or simple universal.
>
> *Each-type* quantifiers are used with a series of countable entities consisting of two or more members [*each/every*]; the quantifier is distributive.[92]

[90] Holmstedt, "Critical at the Margins," 132.

[91] Jacobus Naudé explains, "The term 'quantifier' is used to indicate items that appear together with nouns (as well as determiners and adjectives) and which specify the number or the amount of referents indicated by these nouns. In other words, quantifiers indicate the amount of entities or the amount of the substance" ("Syntactic Patterns of Quantifier Float in Biblical Hebrew," *Hebrew Studies* 52 [2011]: 123).

[92] Naudé, "Syntactic Patterns of Quantifier Float," 123-124.

Because היום is a countable entity, the כל in כל־היום is an each-type quantifier. In this line, the quantifier כל modifies a definite singular head noun, היום. "Definite singular nouns modified by כל convey the nuance of 'all individuals,'"[93] and so the semantic nuance of this phrase is "each and every day I am faint." In this line, the subject of the copula is null and the complement is the fs adjective דוה. Line 13b is a single null copula clause line of two constituents and two prosodic words.

4.1.57 Lamentations 1:14a

14a	נִשְׂקַד עֹ֙ל פְּשָׁעַי בְּיָדֹו֙ יִשְׂתָּרְגוּ			
Translit	*niśqad*	*ʿōl pəšāʿay*	*bəyādô*	*yiśtārgû*
Word Level	PW1	PW2	PW3	PW4
Const Level	C1	C2	C3	C4
Synt Role	V	S	AD	V
Translation	A yoke of my transgressions was bound; by his hand they were fastened together –			
Line Type	*Double clause line of 4C, 4PW*			

The first constituent and prosodic word in 14a is the 3ms verb נשׂקד. The second prosodic word of the line is על פּשׁעי. As the subject of the verb, על פּשׁעי is also counted as a constituent. The second clause of the line begins with the PP בידו, which is counted as a constituent because it is a modifier of the verb ישׂתרגו. Line 14a is a double clause line of four prosodic words and four constituents.

[93] Naudé, "Syntactic Patterns of Quantifier Float," 130.

4.1.58 Lamentations 1:14b

14b	עָלְוּ עַל־צַוָּארִי הִכְשִׁיל כֹּחִי			
Translit	*ʿālû*	*ʿal ṣawwāʾrî*	*hikšîl*	*kōḥî*
Word Level	PW1	PW2	PW3	PW4
Const Level	C1	C2	C3	C4
Synt Role	V	AD	V	COMP
Translation	They went up upon my neck; he made my strength stumble.			
Line Type	*Double clause line of 4C, 4PW*			

Each prosodic word in line 14b is a constituent. The first clause in the line consists of the verb עלו and its PP adjunct **על־צוארי.** The second clause in the line consists of the verb הכשׁיל and its complement כחי. Line 14b is a double clause line of four prosodic words and four constituents.

4.1.59 Lamentations 1:14c

14c	נְתָנַנִי אֲדֹנָי בִּידֵי לֹא־אוּכַל קוּם:				
Translit	*nətānanî*	*ʾădōnāy*	*bîdê*	*lō ʾûkal*	*qûm*
Word Level	PW1	PW2	PW3	PW4	PW5
Const Level	C1 C2	C3		C4	
Synt Role	V+ATTPROCOMP	S		COMP	
Translation	The Lord gave me into the hands of (one) (who) I am not able to stand (against him).				
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 4C, 5PW*				

The first prosodic word in 14c consists of two constituents, the verb and its cliticized complement. The second prosodic word is the subject, אדני. The verb נתן is trivalent in this line, taking a subject, an attached complement, and a PP complement, בידי לא־אוכל קום.

The PP complement is complex. ידי is bound to a null head of an unmarked relative clause: *Into the hands of* [(NULL NP: one) (UNMARKED RELATIVE CLAUSE MODIFYING NULL NP: (who) I am not

able to stand [against him])]. The unmarked relative clause לא־אוכל קום is restrictive because without it, the null head of the relative clause cannot be identified. Items in *restrictive* modifiers are *not* counted as constituents (§2.3.3.1). Therefore, the items within לא־אוכל קום are not counted as constituents in line 14c although they are counted as prosodic words. Because בידי לא־אוכל קום is the second complement to נתן, the entire PP is counted as a constituent. Line 14c is a single independent verbal clause line of four constituents and five prosodic words.

4.1.60 Lamentations 1:15a

15a	סִלָּה כָל־אַבִּירַי ׀ אֲדֹנָי בְּקִרְבִּי			
Translit	*sillâ*	*kol ʾabîray*	*ʾădōnāy*	*bəqirbî*
Word Level	PW1	PW2	PW3	PW4
Const Level	C1	C2	C3	C4
Synt Role	V	COMP	S	AD
Translation	The Lord spurned all my mighty men in my midst;			
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 4C, 4PW*			

Line 15a marks the ס section of the acrostic. The verb has been fronted to mark the Focus of the clause. The membership set consists of several actions that God could have taken (or not taken): {spurned, not-spurned; rescued, not-rescued}, from which סלה has been selected. The complement of the verb is the second prosodic word and second constituent; the third prosodic word and constituent is the subject, אדני. The fourth prosodic word and constituent is a locative PP adjunct. Line 15a is a single independent verbal clause line of four prosodic words and four constituents.

4.1.61 Lamentations 1:15b

15b	קָרָ֤א עָלַי֙ מוֹעֵ֔ד לְשַׁבֵּ֖ר בַּחוּרָ֑י				
Translit	*qārāʾ*	*ʿālay*	*môʿēd*	*lišbōr*	*baḥûrāy*
Word Level	PW1	PW2	PW3	PW4	PW5
Const Level	C1	C2	C3	C4	
Synt Role	V	AD	COMP	DEPENDENT INF CLAUSE	
Translation	He summoned an assembly against me to shatter my mighty men.				
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 4C, 5PW*				

Each orthographic word in line 15b is also a prosodic word. The first constituent is the verb קרא, followed by a PP adjunct (עלי) and the complement (מועד). The final constituent in the line is a dependent infinitival clause that expresses purpose. Line 15b is a double clause line of four constituents and five prosodic words.

4.1.62 Lamentations 1:15c

15c	גַּ֚ת דָּרַ֣ךְ אֲדֹנָ֔י לִבְתוּלַ֖ת בַּת־יְהוּדָֽה׃			
Translit	*gat*	*dārak*	*ʾădōnāy*	*libtûlat bat yəhûdâ*
Word Level	PW1	PW2	PW3	PW4
Const Level	C1	C2	C3	C4
Synt Role	COMP	V	S	AD
Translation	A winepress the Lord treaded for Virgin Daughter Judah,			
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 4C, 4PW*			

Line 15c begins with גת, the complement of the verb דרך.[94] The complement גת is marked for Focus; גת has been selected from a membership of items that the Lord could tread.[95] The third prosodic word and constituent is the subject of the verb, אדני. The Lord "treads the wine-press for the daughter of Judah, because her young men [בחורי in 15b] are cut off like clusters of grapes (Jer. vi. 9), and thrown into the wine-press (Joel iv. 13)."[96] The last three orthographic words in the line are joined by cliticization to form the fourth prosodic word and constituent in the line, a PP adjunct to the verb.

4.1.63 Lamentations 1:16a

16a	עַל־אֵ֣לֶּה ׀ אֲנִ֣י בוֹכִיָּ֗ה			
Translit	*ʿal ʾēlleh*	*ʾănî*	*bôkiyyāh*	
Word Level	PW1	PW2	PW3	
Const Level	C1	C2	C3	
Synt Role	AD	S	[V]	PRED
Translation	On account of these things I am weeping.			
Line Type	*Single independent null copula clause line of 3C, 3PW*			

Line 16a marks the ע section of the acrostic. The PP is fronted to mark the Topic of the clause. I take the referent of על־אלה to be all of the terrible events described in vv. 13-15. The PP is followed by the second prosodic word and constituent, the 1cs personal pronoun אני which is the subject of the null copula. The third prosodic word and constituent is the participial adjective,

[94] Cook explains, "Both the NRSV and NJPS treat לִבְתוּלֹת as the complement of the verb דרך, and גַּת as some sort of adverbial accusative. But דרך does not elsewhere take as its complement a ל prepositional phrase … The majority of the time … it takes a noun phrase complement. Based on this valency pattern, it is best to identify גַּת as the complement and the prepositional phrase לִבְתוּלֹת בַּת־יְהוּדָה as an adjunct" (John A. Cook, "Valency: The Intersection of Syntax and Semantics," 64).

[95] Elsewhere, Yhwh treads upon the high places (במה in Amos 4:13, Micah 1:3), sea (ים in Hab 3:15, Job 9:8), and winepress (פורה in Isa 63:3, גת here in Lam 1:15).

[96] Keil and Delitzsch, *Commentary on the Old Testament,* quoted in Cook, "Valency: the Intersection of Syntax and Semantics," 64.

בוכיה. Line 16a is a single independent verbal clause line of three prosodic words and three constituents.

4.1.64 Lamentations 1:16b

16b	עֵינִי ׀ עֵינִי יָרְדָה מָּיִם			
Translit	*ʿênî*	*ʿênî*	*yōrdâ*	*mayim*
Word Level	PW1	PW2	PW3	PW4
Const Level	C1		C2	C3
Synt Role	S	[V]	COMP	AD
Translation	My eye, my eye (is) descending waters			
Line Type	*Single independent null copula clause line of 3C, 4PW*			

Line 16b exhibits BH's normal SV word order. The first עיני serves as an anchor for the second עיני, its appositive. Together, the first two prosodic words are the subject of the verb, and thus the first constituent. The copula is null. The third prosodic word and second constituent is the participial adjective ירדה, "descending, going down." I understand the fourth prosodic word as an instrumental NP modifier of ירדה that specifies the means by which the personified city's eye "descended", namely by *waters*; מים is a metonymy for tears.[97] The repetition of עיני and the morphologically plural מים communicate the extravagance of Jerusalem's outpouring of grief.

[97] Similar examples include Joel 4:18 (וְכָל־אֲפִיקֵי יְהוּדָה יֵלְכוּ מָּיִם *and all the channels of Judah will flow with water*), and Ezekiel 7:17 (וְכָל־בִּרְכַּיִם תֵּלַכְנָה מָּיִם *all hands will relax and all knees will flow with urine*); these examples and glosses are from *DCH,* s.v. "מַיִם".

4.1.65 Lamentations 1:16c

16c	כִּי־רָחַק מִמֶּנִּי מְנַחֵם			
Translit	*kî*	*rāḥaq*	*mimmennî*	*mənaḥēm*
Word Level	PW1	PW2	PW3	PW4
Const Level	–	C1	C2	C3
Synt Role	FN WORD	V	COMP	S
Translation	Because far from me is (one) (who) comforts;			
Line Type	*Single independent null copula clause line of 3C, 4PW*			

I read the כי in this line as causal, providing the reason for the personified city's weeping in 16b. כי is a prosodic word because it is not bound to another word in the line but it is not counted as a constituent because it is not a verb, verbal modifier, or argument of a verb. כי triggers word order inversion, so the second prosodic word and first constituent of this line is the verb רחק. The PP ממני is the complement to the verb, and is therefore counted as a constituent. The final prosodic word and constituent in the line is the subject of the verb, מנחם. As in 9c and 2b, I understand the participle as a relative participle with a null subject: (One) (who) comforts.

4.1.66 Lamentations 1:16d

16d	מֵשִׁיב נַפְשִׁי		
Translit	*mēšîb*	*napšî*	[*rāḥaq mimmennî*]
Word Level	PW1	PW2	
Const Level	C1		
Synt Role	AD		
Translation	(one) (who) restores my soul [is far from me]		
Line Type	*Dependent phrase line of 1C, 2PW*		

The syntax in 16d is elliptical.[98] Ellipsis in BH poetry consists of two *conjuncts,* i.e., two conjoined structures of the same type. In this case, line 16c and 16d are the conjuncts. The elided constituent in 16d is רחק ממני:

16c: *kî rāḥaq mimmennî mənaḥēm* | 16d: *mēšîb napšî* [*rāḥaq mimmennî*]

16c: Because far from me is (one) (who) comforts; | 16d: (one) (who) restores my soul [is far from me].

In BH poetry, the constituents of each conjunct may be arranged in the same order or in chiastic (mirror) order.[99] This is an example of chiastic order: {Verb PP, Comp} S | S {Verb PP, Comp}. The sole constituent in this line is משיב נפשי. Line 16d is a clausal appositive within the elided VP:

16b My eye, my eye is descending waters,

16c Because far from me is one who comforts,

16d *which is to say,* (one) (who) restores my soul [is far from me].

4.1.67 Lamentations 1:16e

16e	הָיְוּ בָנַי שֹׁוֹמֵמִּים		
Translit	*hāyû*	*bānay*	*šômēmîm*
Word Level	PW1	PW2	PW3
Const Level	C1	C2	C3
Synt Role	V	S	COMP
Translation	My children are desolate		
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 3PW*		

[98] On ellipsis in BH poetry, see §2.3.2.1 and §4.1.46.

[99] Miller, *EHLL,* s.v. "Ellipsis."

Line 16e begins with the verb היו. Cook has shown that perfect verbs exhibiting VS word order express modality, which warrants reading היו within a present time frame.[100] The verb is the first prosodic word and constituent, followed by its subject and complement. Line 16e is a verbal clause line of three prosodic words and three constituents.

4.1.68 Lamentations 1:16f

16f	כִּי גָבַר אוֹיֵב׃		
Translit	*kî*	*gābar*	*ʾôyēb*
Word Level	PW1	PW2	PW3
Const Level	–	C1	C2
Synt Role	FN WORD	V	S
Translation	because the enemy has become strong.		
Line Type	*Single dependent verbal clause line of 2C, 3PW*		

Line 16f is a subordinate clause that explains why Jerusalem's children are desolate (16e). As in 16c, I read the כי at the beginning of the clause as causal. The כי triggers VS word order. Because 16f is dependent on 16e, the lines are enjambed.

4.1.69 Lamentations 1:17a

17a	פֵּרְשָׂה צִיּוֹן בְּיָדֶיהָ		
Translit	*pērəśâ*	*ṣiyyôn*	*bəyādêhā*
Word Level	PW1	PW2	PW3
Const Level	C1	C2	C3
Synt Role	V	S	COMP
Translation	Zion spreads out her hands,		
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 3PW*		

[100] See §4.1.15 and its footnotes above.

Line 17a marks the פ section of the acrostic, and like lines 2a, 3a, 5a, 6a, 14a, and 15a, subverts BH's normal SV word order by placing the verb first. The VS word order leads me to read פרשׂה here as referring to a present time frame event: *Zion spreads out her hands* (17a)*, one who comforts does not exist for her* (17b).[101] The second prosodic word and constituent is the subject of the verb; the third prosodic word and constituent is the complement to the verb. Line 17a is a single independent verbal clause of three prosodic words and three constituents.

4.1.70 Lamentations 1:17b

17b	אֵין מְנַחֵם לָהּ		
Translit	*ʾên*	*mənaḥēm*	*lāh*
Word Level		PW1	PW2
Const Level	C1	C2	C3
Synt Role	NEGV	S	AD
Translation	(One) (who) comforts does not exist for her.		
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 2PW*		

Line 17b is identical to line 9c (cf. line 2b).

4.1.71 Lamentations 1:17c

17c	צִוָּה יְהוָה לְיַעֲקֹב		
Translit	*ṣiwwâ*	*yhwh*	*ləyaʿăqōb*
Word Level	PW1	PW2	PW3
Const Level	C1	C2	C3
Synt Role	V	S	AD
Translation	Yhwh commands concerning Jacob:		
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 3PW*		

[101] On VS word order and modality, see §4.1.20.

Line 17c begins with a fronted verb that marks the Topic of the clause and the modal use of the Perfect. Whereas 17a, b concern Zion and her plight, 17c shifts to a discussion of Yhwh's actions. The second prosodic word and constituent is the subject, followed by the third prosodic word and constituent, the verb's PP adjunct.

4.1.72 Lamentations 1:17d

17d	סְבִיבָיו צָרָיו
Translit	*səbîbāyw* *ṣārāyw*
Word Level	PW1 PW2
Const Level	C1
Synt Role	COMP TO צוה IN 17C
Translation	"(Those) surrounding him [are] his adversaries"
Line Type	*Null copula clause line of 1C, 2PW*

Line 17d gives the content of the command referenced in 17c. As such, the entire clause is a single constituent because it is the complement to צוה in 17c. The first prosodic word is a participial relative clause ([*those*] *surrounding him*), that serves as the subject to the null copula The predicate is the second prosodic word and constituent, צריו.

4.1.73 Lamentations 1:17e

17e	הָיְתָה יְרוּשָׁלַ͏ִם לְנִדָּה בֵּינֵיהֶם׃			
Translit	*hāytâ*	*yərûšālaim*	*ləniddâ*	*bênêhem*
Word Level	PW1	PW2	PW3	PW4
Const Level	C1	C2	C3	C4
Synt Role	V	S	COMP	AD
Translation	Jerusalem is an impure thing in their midst.			
Line Type	*Single verbal clause line of 4C, 4PW*			

This is the second time Jerusalem is said to be an impure thing; the first time is in line 8b. The VS word order suggests a present time-frame for the habitual events being described: Jerusalem is in a state of habitual impurity as she dwells among her adversaries. Line 17e is a single verbal clause line of four prosodic words and four constituents.

4.1.74 Lamentations 1:18a

18a	צַדִּיק הֽוּא יְהוָה			
Translit	*ṣaddîq*	*hûʾ*	*yhwh*	
Word Level	PW1	PW2	PW3	
Const Level	C1	C2	C3	
Synt Role	PRED [V]	S	APP OF IDENTIFICATION	
Translation	Righteous is he, Yhwh!			
Line Type	*Single null copula clause line of 3C, 3PW*			

Line 18a marks the צ section of the acrostic. While copula clauses typically exhibit Subject-Predicate order, the poet places the predicate first, and in so doing, marks צדיק for Focus. In the broader context, Yhwh's actions toward Israel in vv. 14-17 are so dramatic that the audience could be forgiven for questioning the righteousness of Yhwh's punishments. As such, the membership set for the Focused constituent would include {righteous, not-righteous}, with "righteous" being selected. Marking צדיק for Focus at the beginning of this clause draws a contrast between Jerusalem's impurity (17e) and Yhwh's righteousness (18a) while simultaneously putting to rest (at least for the moment) any questions about whether Yhwh's actions were justified.

צדיק is followed by the subject of the null predicate, הוא, which is both a prosodic word and constituent. The third prosodic word in the line is יהוה, an appositive of identification. Because the appositive is a non-restrictive modifier, it is counted as a constituent. Line 18a is a single null copula clause line of three prosodic words and three constituents.

4.1.75 Lamentations 1:18b

18b	כִּי פִּיהוּ מָרִיתִי		
Translit	*kî*	*pîhû*	*mārîtî*
Word Level	PW1	PW2	PW3
Const Level	–	C1	C2
Synt Role	CONJ	COMP	V
Translation	But against his mouth I rebelled.		
Line Type	*Dependent verbal clause line of 2C, 3PW*		

Line 18b begins with כי, which I read as an adversative conjunction. כי is a prosodic word because it is not cliticized, but it is not counted as a constituent because it is not a verb, nor an argument or modifier of a verb. The complement to the verb is fronted for Focus. In this case, I understand the membership set to be {his-mouth, not-his-mouth}, and *his mouth* has been selected. The previous verse proclaims Yhwh to be righteous, so to rebel against *his* command (mouth is a metonymy for command) is particularly egregious.

4.1.76 Lamentations 1:18c

18c	שִׁמְעוּ־נָא כָל־עַמִּים [הָ][עַמִּים] וּרְאוּ מַכְאֹבִי			
Translit	*šimʿû nāʾ*	*kol hāʿammîm*	*ûrəʾû*	*makʾōbî*
Word Level	PW1	PW2	PW3	PW4
Const Level	C1	–	C2	C3
Synt Role	V	VOC	V	COMP
Translation	Hear, all [you] nations![102] See my pain!			
Line Type	*Double clause line of 3C, 4PW*			

[102] I read with the *Qere* here. At first glance, the difference between the *Ketiv* (כָל־עַמִּים) and *Qere* ([כָל־[הָ][עַמִּים) may seem insignificant, but the forms have different semantic nuances. The nuance of the *Ketiv* is distributive (*each and every nation*), whereas the nuance of the *Qere* is collective (*all* [*you*] *nations*). Naudé explains, "The difference between the distributive quantifier 'every' and collective quantifier 'all' is that the distributive 'every' occurs with indefinite nouns, is non-specific and implicitly inclusive, while *the collective 'all' is specific and inclusive*. The difference between the plural and the singular is motivated by individualisation. In the plural, the focus is not on

In 18c, Jerusalem returns to crying out to the nations with imperatival forms. The first prosodic word is also the first constituent because it is a verb. The second prosodic word is a vocative, and is not reckoned as a constituent because it is not a verb, nor an argument or modifier of a verb. The third prosodic word is a second imperatival form. Because ראו is a verb, it is also counted as a constituent. The fourth prosodic word is also a constituent because it is the complement to the verb.

Line 18c is a double clause line of four prosodic words and three constituents. While this line could be broken into two single-clause lines, the Maximalizing Principle dictates that when possible in lineation, the maximum number of constituents and prosodic words should be included in each poetic line (§3.2.2; see §4.2.12 for the interlineal implications of this double clause line).

4.1.77 Lamentations 1:18d

18d	בְּתוּלֹתַ֥י וּבַחוּרָ֖י הָלְכ֥וּ בַשֶּֽׁבִי׃			
Translit	*bətûlōtay*	*ûbaḥûray*	*hāləkû*	*baššebî*
Word Level	PW1	PW2	PW3	PW4
Const Level	C1		C2	C3
Synt Role	S		V	COMP
Translation	My young women and my young men have gone into captivity.			
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 4PW*			

Together, בתולתי ובחורי serves as the subject of this clause, so while each is a prosodic word, they make up only one constituent. Line 18d is a single independent verbal clause line of four prosodic words and three constituents.

individualisation. The singular focuses on individualization/individuation" (Naudé, "Syntactic Patterns of Quantifier Float," 127).

4.1.78 Lamentations 1:19a

19a	קָרָ֣אתִי לַ֠מְאַהֲבַ֨י
Translit	*qārāʾtî lamʾahăbay*
Word Level	PW1 PW2
Const Level	C1 C2
Synt Role	V COMP
Translation	I call to (those) (who) loved me,
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 2C, 2PW*

Line 19a marks the ק section of the acrostic, and like lines 2a, 3a, 5a, 6a, 14a, 15a, and 17a, the verb is fronted. The placement of the verb marks the Topic of the clause. The Topic has shifted from the city's young men and women in 18d to the personified city herself in 19a. The verb is the first prosodic word and constituent; its complement is an unmarked relative participial clause with attached pronominal complement. Because the unmarked relative participial clause is embedded within the PP, מאהבי is not counted as a verb (i.e., it does not make 19a a double clause line). This line is short, but inclusion of הֵ֣מָּה רִמּ֔וּנִי (line 19b) in this line would exceed the permissible number of constituents.

4.1.79 Lamentations 1:19b

19b	הֵ֣מָּה רִמּ֔וּנִי
Translit	*hēmmâ rimmûnî*
Word Level	PW1 PW2
Const Level	C1 C2 C3
Synt Role	S V+ATTPROCOMP
Translation	They betrayed me.
Line Type	*Verbal clause line of 3C, 2PW*

Line 19b exhibits BH's normal SV word order. The subject is the first prosodic word and first constituent in the clause. The second prosodic word contains the second and third constituents, the verb and its cliticized complement.

4.1.80 Lamentations 1:19c

19c	כֹּהֲנַי וּזְקֵנַי בָּעִיר גָּוָעוּ			
Translit	*kōhănay*	*ûzqēnay*	*bāʿîr*	*gāwāʿû*
Word Level	PW1	PW2	PW3	PW4
Const Level	C1		C2	C3
Synt Role	S		AD	V
Translation	My priests and my elders died in the city			
Line Type	*Verbal clause line of 3C, 4PW*			

Like line 18d, 19c begins with two prosodic words that make up a single constituent. In this case, the paired prosodic words are priests and elders, whereas in 18d, the paired prosodic words are young women and young men. Priests were previously mentioned alongside princes and young women in verse 4.

The subject is followed by a locative PP adjunct. While כהני וזקני is the Topic of the clause, the placement of the PP adjunct before the verb also marks it for Focus. The Focus on "in the city" highlights the nature of a siege, which is further developed in 19d, e as the priests and elders search for food within the city walls. The fourth prosodic word and third constituent is the verb גועו. Line 19c is a verbal clause line of four prosodic words and three constituents.

4.1.81 Lamentations 1:19d

19d	כִּי־בִקְשׁוּ אֹכֶל לָמוֹ			
Translit	*kî*	*biqšû*	*ʾōkel*	*lāmô*
Word Level	PW1	PW2	PW3	PW4
Const Level	–	C1	C2	C3
Synt Role		V	COMP	AD
Translation	when they sought food for themselves			
Line Type	*Single verbal clause line of 3C, 4PW*			

Line 19d is a dependent temporal clause line that describes the conditions in which the priests and elders died. Line 19d is dependent on 19c, so the lines are enjambed. כי is the first prosodic word of the line, but because it is not a verb nor an argument or modifier of a verb it is not counted as a constituent. The second prosodic word and first constituent of the line is the verb בקשׁו, followed by its complement and a PP adjunct.

4.1.82 Lamentations 1:19e

19e	וְיָשִׁיבוּ אֶת־נַפְשָׁם׃	
Translit	*wəyāšîbû*	*ʾet-napšām*
Word Level	PW1	PW2
Const Level	C1	C2
Synt Role	V	COMP
Translation	so that they might restore their life.	
Line Type	*Single verbal clause line of 2C, 2PW*	

In isolation, line 19e could be read as an independent verbal clause, but the juxtaposition of this line with the two that precede it lead me to read this line as dependent on the main clause in 19c. I read וישׁיבו as an irreal perfect that expresses the purpose for the priests and elders' seeking food (19d). Because 19e is dependent on 19c, the lines are enjambed.

4.1.83 Lamentations 1:20a

20a	רְאֵה יְהוָה כִּי־צַר־לִי
Translit	*rəʾēh yhwh kî ṣar lî*
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3 PW4 PW5
Const Level	C1 – [C2]
Synt Role	V VOC [*kî* CLAUSE COMP]
Translation	See, O Yhwh that I have distress!
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line (with kî clause complement) of 2C, 5PW*

Line 20a marks the ר section of the acrostic. Like lines 2a, 3a, 5a, 6a, 14a, 15a, 17a, and 19a, the poet places the verb at the beginning of the line. The phrase ראה יהוה is also placed at the beginning of the line. This is the fourth time Jerusalem cries out to be seen ("See, O Yhwh" in 9d, 11c; vocative directed at passersby in line 12b).

The first prosodic word and constituent in the line is the imperative verb. The second and third prosodic words are neither verbs nor arguments or modifiers of verbs, so they are not counted as constituents. The כי clause is the complement to the verb ראה. The fourth prosodic word and second constituent of the line is the noun צר, which is the subject of a null copula and its PP complement, לי: *distress is mine* or *I have distress* (commonly glossed as *I am distressed*).

4.1.84 Lamentations 1:20b

20b	מֵעַי חָמַרְמָרוּ
Translit	*mēʿay ḥŏmarmārû*
Word Level	PW1 PW2
Const Level	C1 C2
Synt Role	S V
Translation	My guts are fermenting,
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 2C, 2PW*

Line 20b is a single independent verbal clause line of two prosodic words and two constituents that exhibits BH's normal SV word order.

4.1.85 Lamentations 1:20c

20c	נֶהְפַּךְ לִבִּי בְּקִרְבִּי		
Translit	*nehpak*	*libbî*	*bəqirbî*
Word Level	PW1	PW2	PW3
Const Level	C1	C2	C3
Synt Role	V	S	COMP
Translation	my heart is changed within me –		
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 3PW*		

In line 20c, each prosodic word is also a constituent. The verb is the first constituent in the line, followed by its subject and a PP complement. The verb is fronted for Focus, selecting "changed" from a membership that includes {changed, not-changed}. Line 20c is a single independent verbal clause line of three prosodic words and three constituents.

4.1.86 Lamentations 1:20d

20d	כִּי מָרֹו מָרִיתִי		
Translit	*kî*	*mārô*	*mārîtî*
Word Level	PW1	PW2	PW3
Const Level	–	C1	
Synt Role	EMPH PARTICLE	TI	V
Translation	I was wholly rebellious!		
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 1C, 3PW*		

Line 20d begins with כי, which is a prosodic word but not a constituent. I read the כי as emphatic and represent it in my translation with an exclamation point. The כי is followed by the first constituent in the line, the TI-construction מרו מריתי. TI-constructions are used to (i) *Focus* the lexical concept of the verb, or (ii) mark the *Topic* of its respective clause.[103] This is an example of the *focusing* function of the (TI)-construction. TI-constructions perform a focusing function through either *contrast* or *non-contrast*; in this case a contrast is drawn between Jerusalem's change of heart (20c) and her former rebelliousness (20d).

4.1.87 Lamentations 1:20e

20e	מִחוּץ שִׁכְּלָה־חֶרֶב		
Translit	*miḥûṣ*	*šiklâ*	*ḥereb*
Word Level	PW1	PW2	PW3
Const Level	C1	C2	C3
Synt Role	AD	V	S
Translation	Outside, the sword bereaves;		
Line Type	*Single verbal clause line of 3C, 3PW*		

In line 20e, the PP מחוץ is fronted for Topic. The fronting of the PP triggers verb-raising above the subject. Each prosodic word in 20e is also a constituent.

[103] Hatav, "The Infinitive Absolute and Topicalization of Events," 220. On TI-constructions, see §2.1.1; see §4.1.4 for another example of a TI-construction in this poem.

4.1.88 Lamentations 1:20f

20f	בַּבַּ֖יִת כַּמָּֽוֶת׃
Translit	*babbayit* *kammāwet*
Word Level	PW1 PW2
Const Level	C1 C2
Synt Role	PRED [V] [S] AD
Translation	In the house (is) (something) like death.
Line Type	*Single null copula clause line of 2C, 2PW*

Like line 20e, line 20f begins with a PP. The PP in this line is fronted for Focus. The membership set evoked here includes {outside-the-house [20e], inside-the-house [20f]}, and "inside the house" is selected. While the preposition כ attached to מות has vexed commentators for centuries[104] and is often understood as "asseverative,"[105] the simplest grammatical solution is to assume a null copula followed by a null NP head before the PP, creating a NP-internal prepositional phrase: *in the house* (is) (something) *like death.* Lines 20e and f describe siege warfare: those who take the risk of escaping the city die by the sword; those who remain within the city walls are likewise bereaved by "death-like" afflictions (illness, starvation, cannibalism, and the like).

[104] Salters writes, "The cryptic בַּבַּ֖יִת כַּמָּֽוֶת is an ancient crux. LXX reverses the word order (while otherwise supporting MT), which may be an attempt to squeeze meaning from the text, though 'as death at home' requires some elucidation. P[eshitta] 'and that which is in the house of death' is a free rendering and may mean 'and death (bereaves) that which is in the house'" (*Lamentations,* 98).

[105] It appears the asseverative reading originated with Gordis' 1974 commentary; all the other commentaries I consulted attribute the reading to him. Berlin writes, "Many interpreters have found the particle *k-* in *kammāwet* problematic. Taking it as 'like death' forces the sense to be something less than death but similar to it–e.g., great suffering. This weakens the force of the phrase and goes against the common trope of describing death inside and outside the city. Gordis interprets the *kāp* as asseverative (also in 5:3); that is, an emphatic particle. I find this the best interpretation. See Waltke and O'Connor, *Biblical Hebrew Syntax,* 203-4" (*Lamentations,* 47).

4.1.89 Lamentations 1:21a

21a	שָׁמְעוּ כִּי נֶאֱנָחָה אָנִי
Translit	*šāməʿû* *kî* *neʾĕnāḥâ* *ʾānî*
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3 PW4
Const Level	C1 [C2]
Synt Role	V [*kî* CLAUSE COMP]
Translation	They hear that I am groaning
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line (with kî clause complement) of 2C, 4PW*

Line 21a marks the שׁ section of the acrostic. Like lines 2a, 3a, 5a, 6a, 14a, 15a, 17a, 19a, and 20a, the poet places the verb at the beginning of the line, marking the change in Topic. The main verb of the line is שמעו, which takes a כי clause complement, the second constituent. Within the כי complement clause, the predicate precedes the subject of the null copula, marking נאנחה for Focus: what is being heard is the personified city's *groaning* (rather than, e.g., her weeping or crying out). Line 21a is a single independent verbal clause line with a כי clause complement consisting of four prosodic words and two constituents.

4.1.90 Lamentations 1:21b

21b	אֵין מְנַחֵם לִי
Translit	*ʾên* *mənaḥēm* *lî*
Word Level	PW1 PW2
Const Level	C1 C2 C3
Synt Role	NEGV S AD
Translation	(One) (who) comforts does not exist for me.
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 2PW*

The syntactic structure of 21b is identical to that of lines 9c, and 17b (cf. 2b, 7d). What makes this line distinct is the speaker: while the poet comments on Jerusalem's paucity of comforters in

the previous lines, this is the first time Jerusalem has described herself thus; the closest she has come to this phrasing is in 16c, d. Line 21b is a single independent verbal clause line of two prosodic words and three constituents.

4.1.91 Lamentations 1:21c

21c	כָּל־אֹיְבַי שָׁמְעוּ רָעָתִי
Translit	*kol ʾōyəbay* *šāməʿû* *rāʿātî*
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3
Const Level	C1 C2 C3
Synt Role	S V COMP
Translation	All my enemies have heard [about] my calamity
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 3PW*

Line 21c returns to SV word order; it is a single independent verbal clause line of three prosodic words and three constituents.

4.1.92 Lamentations 1:21d

21d	שָׂשׂוּ כִּי אַתָּה עָשִׂיתָ
Translit	*śāśû* *kî* *ʾattâ* *ʿāśîtā*
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3 PW4
Const Level	C1 [C2]
Synt Role	V [*kî* CLAUSE COMP]
Translation	They rejoice that you have done [this]!
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line (with kî clause complement) of 2C, 4PW*

The first prosodic word and constituent in 21d is the verb שׂשׂו. The second prosodic word (כי) is not a constituent because it is not a verb, nor a modifier or argument of a verb. The כי clause is

the complement to שׂשׂוֹ. The word order within the כי clause is SV. כי normally triggers word order inversion, but the subject is fronted for Focus: it is *Yhwh* who has brought about Jerusalem's calamity, not her enemies (12d).

4.1.93 Lamentations 1:21e

21e	הֵבֵאתָ יוֹם־קָרָאתָ
Translit	*hēbēʾtā yôm qārāʾtā*
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3
Const Level	C1 C2
Synt Role	V [UNMARKED RESTRICTIVE REL CLAUSE COMP]
Translation	You have brought the day [that] you announced
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line (with unmarked relative clause complement) of 2C, 3PW*

In line 21e, the main verb הבאת takes an unmarked relative clause complement. Within the relative clause, the complement precedes the verb. Because יום־קראת is a *restrictive* relative clause, the items within the relative clause are not counted as individual constituents; the clause itself is counted as a constituent.

4.1.94 Lamentations 1:21f

21f	וְיִהְיוּ כָמוֹנִי׃
Translit	*wəyihyû kāmônî*
Word Level	PW1 PW2
Const Level	C1 C2
Synt Role	V COMP
Translation	Let them become like me!
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 2C, 2PW*

In this verbal clause line, the verb precedes its PP complement. Line 21f is a single independent verbal clause line of two prosodic words and two constituents.

4.1.95 Lamentations 1:22a

22a	תָּבֹא כָל־רָעָתָם לְפָנֶיךָ		
Translit	*tābōʾ*	*kol rāʿātām*	*ləpānêkā*
Word Level	PW1	PW2	PW3
Const Level	C1	C2	C3
Synt Role	V	COMP	AD
Translation	Let all their wickedness come before you;		
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 3PW*		

Line 22a marks the ת section of the acrostic. Like lines 2a, 3a, 5a, 6a, 14a, 15a, 17a, 19a, 20a, and 21a, the poet places the verb at the beginning of the line. Jussives trigger verb raising, so its placement at the beginning of the clause is expected. The verb is followed by its complement and a locative adjunct. Line 22a is a single independent verbal clause line of three prosodic words and three constituents.

4.1.96 Lamentations 1:22b

22b	וְעוֹלֵל לָמוֹ	
Translit	*wəʿôlēl*	*lāmô*
Word Level	PW1	PW2
Const Level	C1	C2
Synt Role	V	COMP
Translation	Deal severely with them	
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 2C, 2PW*	

Line 22b is a straightforward single independent verbal clause line of two prosodic words and two constituents.

4.1.97 Lamentations 1:22c

22c	כַּאֲשֶׁר עוֹלַלְתָּ לִי עַל כָּל־פִּשְׁעָי			
Translit	*kaʾăšer ʿôlālətā*	*lî*	*ʿal kol pəšāʿāy*	
Word Level	PW1	PW2	PW3	
Const Level	– C1	C2	C3	
Synt Role	FN WORD V	COMP	AD	
Translation	Just as you have dealt severely with me on account of my iniquities!			
Line Type	*Single dependent verbal clause line of 3C, 3PW*			

Line 22c is enjambed because it relies on 22b for syntactic completion. כַּאֲשֶׁר has bound morphology, joining with עוללת to create the first prosodic word.[106] כאשר is not counted as a constituent because it is not a verb, verbal modifier, or verbal argument. עוללת is followed by לי, its PP complement and the second constituent in the line. The third constituent is the final PP, an adjunct to the verb.

[106] See the similar construction in verse 12d.

4.1.98 Lamentations 1:22d

22d	כִּי־רַבּוֹת אַנְחֹתַי וְלִבִּי דַוֶּי׃							
Translit	*kî*	*rabbôt*		*ʾanḥōtay*	*wəlibbî*		*dawwāy*	
Word Level	PW1	PW2		PW3	PW4		PW5	
Const Level	–	C1		C2	C3		C4	
Synt Role	FN	PRED	[V]	S	S	[V]	PRED	
Translation	Many are my groans, my heart is faint!							
Line Type	*Double null copula clause line of 4C, 5PW*							

The final line of the poem is a double null copula clause line of five prosodic words and four constituents. I read the כי as emphatic and represent it in my translation with an exclamation point. The כי is a prosodic word because it is not cliticized, but it is not a constituent because it is not a verb, nor an argument or modifier of a verb. The second prosodic word is the predicate of the first null copula clause. The predicate has been fronted to highlight the intensity of the personified city's suffering and emotions. The second null copula clause exhibits BH's normal SV word order.

4.2 Interlineal Analysis of Lamentations 1

4.2.1 Lines 1a-c: Introduction of Image 1 and 1'

Lamentations 1 is an extended description of Jerusalem's suffering. Lines 1a-c introduce the primary images of the poem, namely, the desolate city *qua* city (Image 1), and the desolate city personified as a woman (Image 1').

1a	אֵיכָה ׀ יָשְׁבָה בָדָד הָעִיר	**Initial Image** The Desolate City *qua* City
	The city dwells alone! *Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 4PW*	
1b	רַבָּתִי עָם הָיְתָה כְּאַלְמָנָה	**Clausal Appositive to 1a** Reformulation
	[The] populous people has become like a widow. *Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 3PW*	
1c	רַבָּתִי בַגּוֹיִם שָׂרָתִי בַּמְּדִינוֹת הָיְתָה לָמַס׃	**Clausal Appositive to 1b** Reformulation **Image 1'** The Desolate City Personified as a Woman
	The populous one among the nations – the princess among the provinces! – has become a tribute. *Independent verbal clause line of 4PW, 4C*	

Line 1a introduces the image of a desolate city. Line 1a is an anchor clause, and 1b is a clausal appositive that reformulates the initial exclamation. The relationship between the lines is more than synonymous parallelism because 1a expresses incredulity over the city dwelling alone, while 1b focuses on the absurdity of a numerous people being reduced to isolation, like a widow.

Line 1b reformulates the city by characterizing it as a populous people, and reformulates "dwelling alone" as widowhood. These shifts begin the personification of the city because only persons can become widows. The poet moves from simile (*like* a widow) in 1b to metaphor (*the princess amongst the provinces*) in 1c. The appositive relationship between רבתי בגוים and שׂרתי במדינות makes clear that the referent of the image (the populous city/nation) has not changed, even though the image has been developed through personification. In 1c the poet presents the city as a noblewoman. While 1b focuses on the reduction of the population, the reformulation in 1c highlights the loss of status from nobility (שׂרתי) to tribute (מס). The transition from desolate city *qua c*ity to desolate city as desolate woman is accomplished in one line.

4.2.2 Lines 2a-3d: Development of Images 1 and 1'

The poet established Image 1' (the desolate city personified as a woman) in 1c. In lines 2a-3d, the poet zooms in on this suffering by portraying the woman as one caught in a cycle of unending grief. This cycle of unending grief is communicated both through the tears on her cheek, and through her lack of comforter (מנחם).[107] This begins in line 2a, in which the woman weeps bitterly.

[107] Berlin characterizes the woman's perpetual mourning, writing, "The poet and the readers mourn with Jerusalem, thereby filling the role of the missing comforters, as they participate in the unending mourning for the city. In another sense, though, the state of mourning is permanent, for without the temple there can be no joy, only its antithesis, mourning" (Berlin, *Lamentations,* 48).

2a	בָּכֹה תִבְכֶּה בַלָּיְלָה וְדִמְעָתָהּ עַל לֶחֱיָהּ She weeps bitterly in the night, her tears are upon her cheek; *Double clause line of 4C, 5PW*	**Image 1': Additive Non-Apposition** The Desolate City Personified as a Woman
2b	אֵין־לָהּ מְנַחֵם מִכָּל־אֹהֲבֶיהָ She has no (one) (who) comforts among all (who) love her. *Single independent verbal clause line of 4C, 3PW*	**Additive Non-Apposition**
2c	כָּל־רֵעֶיהָ בָּגְדוּ בָהּ All her friends have betrayed her; *Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 3PW*	**Clausal Appositive to 2b** Intensifying Attribution
2d	הָיוּ לָהּ לְאֹיְבִים׃ [All her friends] have become enemies to her. *Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 3PW*	**Clausal Appositive to 2c** Intensifying Attribution
3a	גָּלְתָה יְהוּדָה מֵעֹנִי וּמֵרֹב עֲבֹדָה Judah has gone into exile by abuse and heavy labour; *Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 4PW*	**Extraposed Clausal Appositive to 1a** Intensifying Attribution **Resumption of Image 1** The Desolate City *qua* City
3b	הִיא יָשְׁבָה בַגּוֹיִם She dwells among the nations, *Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 3PW*	**Clausal Appositive to 3a** Attribution
3c	לֹא מָצְאָה מָנוֹחַ she cannot find a resting-place. *Single independent verbal clause line of 2C, 2PW*	**Additive Non-Apposition**
3d	כָּל־רֹדְפֶיהָ הִשִּׂיגוּהָ בֵּין הַמְּצָרִים׃ All her pursuers overtook her between the straits. *Independent verbal clause line of 4C, 3PW*	**Extraposed Clausal Appositive to 3a** Reformulation

Verse 1 presents the image of a noblewoman reduced to tribute, a woman who exhibits all of the vulnerability and grief associated with one recently widowed. In 2a, the poet describes how the woman responds to such a calamitous reversal of fortune: *She weeps bitterly in the night.* The first clause in 2a serves as an anchor clause for the second clause in the same line (ודמעתה על לחיה), which is an appositive of intensifying attribution. In appositives of attribution, "The appositive alters the sense of the anchor by strengthening it, qualitatively or quantitively."[108] In this case, the strengthening is qualitative; the poet "zooms in" on the tears clinging to the woman's cheek.

Line 2b is an example of additive non-apposition in which the poet provides additional information about the weeping woman: in addition to weeping bitterly (2a), she weeps alone (2b). The woman has become "like a widow" (1b), but unlike most widows, she has no comforter (2b). This is a shocking revelation. Xuan Pham argues that מנחם is a technical term for a friend who cares for the mourner in a time a grief and accompanies the mourner as s/he engages in grieving rituals:

> The מנחם tries to comfort or mitigate the mourner's grief in two main ways: first, by identifying with the mourner through participating in the mourning rites; and secondly, by speaking to the mourner, giving him or her advice on how to get over his or her pain.[109]

Without a comforter to participate in the mourning rites, the widow is in a state of perpetual grief.[110] This perpetual grief is expressed through the repetition of the phrase אין־לה מנחם (with varied word order) in vv. 9, 17, and 21.

Line 2c is a clausal appositive of intensifying attribution: not only does the woman have no comforter from among all of her lovers (2b), all of her friends have betrayed her (2c). Line 2c is followed by another appositive of intensifying attribution because not only have her friends

---

[108] Holmstedt & Jones, "Apposition in Biblical Hebrew," 36-37.

[109] Xuan Huong Thi Pham, *Mourning in the Ancient Near East and the Hebrew Bible,* JSOTSup 302 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 28.

[110] "For grief in Israel's world was always a communal thing. Mourners gathered to wrap the bereaved in the comfort of shared grief. To be denied such comfort at the time it was most desperately needed compounded the pain to infinity" (Christopher J. H. Wright, *The Message of Lamentations,* The Bible Speaks Today [Downer's Grove: IVP Academic, 2015], 58).

betrayed her (an act that perhaps could be forgiven, 2c), but they have become enemies to her (signaling an end to their friendship, 2d).

Having developed the concept of the woman's isolation and friendlessness, the poet shifts in line 3a to develop the image of the city from line 1a. The introduction of the place-name *Judah* signals the development of the image of the city, even though strictly speaking, Judah is not a city, but rather, a nation.[111] Line 3a is an extraposed clausal appositive of intensifying attribution to line 1a: *The city dwells alone!* (1a), what's more, *Judah has gone into exile by abuse and heavy labour* (3a). Line 3a alters the sense of 1a by specifying the nature of the city's "dwelling alone" – the city's "dwelling alone" is not positive (as if she were dwelling undisturbed in peace and prosperity), but is the negative consequence of having gone into exile by abuse and heavy labour.[112]

Line 3b reformulates 3a by describing Judah's current state: *Judah has gone into exile …* (3a), [and now] *She dwells among the nations* (3b). Line 3c is an additive non-appositional line: The *She dwells among the nations,* (and) *She cannot find a resting-place* (3c). I understand 3d as an extraposed appositive of reformulation to 3a: *Judah has gone into exile by abuse and heavy labour*, in other words, *all her pursuers overtook her between the straits.*

[111] Dobbs-Allsopp writes, "The reference to 'Judah' in this stanza is not to be construed as signifying a persona distinct from that of Zion. Rather … the frequent changing of names for the personified figure in Lamentations mostly seems to shift the geographical focus projected by the figure itself. Here the focus enlarges to include the entire nation of Judah, the significance of which lies in registering the national scope of the calamity" (Dobbs-Allsopp, *Lamentations,* 59).

[112] Dobbs-Allsopp comments on this ambiguity; see §4.3.2.1 below.

4.2.3 Lines 4a-c: Development of Image 1

4a	דַּרְכֵי צִיּוֹן אֲבֵלוֹת מִבְּלִי בָּאֵי מוֹעֵד The paths of Zion are mourning, without festival-goers *Single null copula clause line of 4C, 4PW*	**Extraposed Clausal Appositive to 1a** Intensifying Attribution **Image 1** The Desolate City *qua* City
4b	כָּל־שְׁעָרֶיהָ שׁוֹמֵמִין כֹּהֲנֶיהָ נֶאֱנָחִים All of her gates are desolate, her priests are groaning *Double null copula clause line of 4C, 4PW*	**Extraposed Clausal Appositive to 4a** Descriptive Attribution
4c	בְּתוּלֹתֶיהָ נוּגוֹת וְהִיא מַר־לָהּ׃ Her young women are grieving; she – she has bitterness. *Double null copula clause line of 4C, 4PW*	**Extraposed Clausal Appositive to 1a** Intensifying Attribution

In verse 4, the poet continues to develop Image 1, the desolate city *qua* city. The description of Zion's paths, gates, and inhabitants makes clear that the image being modified is Image 1 (the desolate city *qua* city) rather than 1' (the desolate city personified as a woman). Line 4a is an extraposed clausal appositive of intensifying attribution to line 1a: *The city dwells alone!,* what's more, *The paths of Zion are mourning, without festival-goers.* Line 4a identifies העיר in 1a as ציון, and reformulates בדד in 1a as מבלי באי מועד.

Line 4b is an attributive clausal appositive 4a. "In an apposition of attribution, the appositive is not equivalent to the anchor; instead it modifies or describes it."[113] The paths referenced in 4a lead to the city gates; דרכי ציון in 4a are described as כל־שעריה in 4b, just as the *festival-goers* in 4a are described *as groaning priests* in 4b.

In §4.1.13 I noted that line 4b could be broken at the end of the first clause (i.e., after כל־שעריה שוממין), but that the Maximalizing Principle (§3.2.2) lineates by including the maximum number of constituents and prosodic words per line. I have adopted this principle not only to avoid an implausibly high number of short and enjambed lines, but also because the lineation that this

[113] Holmstedt and Jones, "Apposition in Biblical Hebrew," 35.

principle supports meaningful interlineal analysis. Lines 4a and b provide a good example of this. A Standard Description may read lines 4a and b as synonymously parallel, but such a designation obscures the relationship between the lines: *paths* are not synonymous with *gates*, but paths do *intersect* with gates, and the appositive relationship between the lines allows for a more detailed description of the paths and their destination. Likewise, *festival-goers* are not synonymous with *priests*, but priests are among the festival-goers; line 4b describes a specific group of people (i.e., priests) within a larger mass of pilgrims (4a). The Maximizing Principle produces lineation that allows for a meaningful analysis of the appositional relationship between these lines and a nuanced reading of their syntax and semantics.

Line 4c is an intensifying appositive to 4b. This verse describes a veritable pile up of grief; in 3 lines, no fewer than 5 clauses describe the suffering of the city. The cascade of calamities culminates in the final double clause line in which feminine imagery is emphasized: *her young women are grieving; she – she has bitterness.* The feminine forms underscore the vulnerability of the personified city.

4.2.4 Lines 5a-6d: Development of Image 1, Introduction of Image 2

5a	הָיוּ צָרֶיהָ לְרֹאשׁ Her adversaries are [now] [the] head; *Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 3PW*	**Extraposed Clausal Appositive to 3a** Reformulation **Image 1** The Desolate City *qua* City
5b	אֹיְבֶיהָ שָׁלוּ Her enemies are [now] at ease. *Single independent verbal clause line of 2C, 2PW*	**Clausal Appositive to 5a** Intensifying Attribution
5c	כִּי־יְהוָה הוֹגָהּ עַל רֹב־פְּשָׁעֶיהָ Surely Yhwh has caused her to suffer on account of the multitude of her transgressions! *Single independent verbal clause line of 4C, 4PW*	**Non Apposition** **Image 2** Yhwh as Disciplinarian
5d	עוֹלָלֶיהָ הָלְכוּ שְׁבִי לִפְנֵי־צָר׃ Her children went [as] captives before an adversary– *Single independent verbal clause line of 4C, 4PW*	**Resumption of Image 1,** The Desolate City *qua* City **Extraposed Clausal Appositive to 3a** Descriptive Attribution
6a	וַיֵּצֵא מִן־בַּת־[מִ][בַּת]־צִיּוֹן כָּל־הֲדָרָהּ All her splendour has gone out from Daughter Zion. *Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 3PW*	**Clausal Appositive to 5d** Reformulation
6b	הָיוּ שָׂרֶיהָ כְּאַיָּלִים Her leaders are like deer *Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 3PW*	**Extraposed Clausal Appositive to 5a** Descriptive Attribution
6c	לֹא־מָצְאוּ מִרְעֶה [that] cannot find pasture; *Dependent unmarked relative clause line of 2C, 2PW*	**Non Apposition: Enjambment**
6d	וַיֵּלְכוּ בְלֹא־כֹחַ לִפְנֵי רוֹדֵף׃ They went without strength before pursuers. *Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 3PW*	**Extraposed Clausal Appositive to 6b** Descriptive Attribution

I understand line 5a as an extraposed clausal appositive of reformulation of line 3a: *Judah has gone has gone into exile by abuse and heavy labour* (3a), in other words, *her adversaries have become* [*the*] *head.* A traditional reading of the poem may simply view this line as a change of subject from the mourning city to the city's adversaries, but an appositive reading of the interlineal syntax recognizes this line as a development of an idea that was introduced earlier in the poem, namely, Judah going into exile. Line 5a then serves as the anchor clause for line 5b, an appositive of intensifying attribution: *Her adversaries have become* [*the*] *head* (5a), what's more, *her enemies are at ease* (5b). The relationship between 5a and b is not merely synonymous: a political power can be on the ascendancy without being at ease. The description of Judah's enemies in 5b sharpens and intensifies the image: not only have her adversaries become the head, they also rest secure and unchallenged.

In line 5c, the poet steps outside of his/her description of the city to comment on the cause of Zion's suffering with a non-appositional clause. In so doing, the poet introduces the image of Yhwh as disciplinarian, an image that is developed in lines 12e-15c.

In 5d, the poet returns to the description of Zion's fall with an extraposed appositive of descriptive attribution of line 3a: *Judah has gone into exile by abuse and heavy labour* (3a), *Her children went* [*as*] *captives before an adversary* (5d). Both lines 5a and 5d develop an image that was first introduced in 3a. I read line 5d as an anchor clause for 6a, an appositive of reformulation: *Her children went* [*as*] *captives before an adversary* (5d), in other words, *All of her splendour has gone out from Daughter Zion* (6a). As such, I understand the referent of כל־הדרה *all her splendour* (6a)*,* to be עולליה, *her children* (5d).

I read line 5a, *Her adversaries have become* [*the*] *head,* as an anchor for the extraposed appositive in 6b *Her leaders have become like deer.* Line 5a and 6b are both single independent verbal clause lines of three constituents and three prosodic words with V-S-Comp word order. This common syntactic structure suggests to me that line 6b should be read as a descriptive appositive of attribution: her adversaries are the ones now in charge and correspondingly, Zion's leaders are reduced in status, resorting to pitiful animal-like behaviour.

As a subordinate relative clause, 6c is enjambed. I understand line 6d as an appositive to 6b: *Her leaders are like deer; they went out without strength before* [*their*] *pursuers.* The appositive line (6d) describes the manner in which the city's leaders (6b) went into exile.

4.2.5 Lines 7a-f: Development of Image 1'

7a	זָכְרָה יְרוּשָׁלַ͏ִם יְמֵי עָנְיָהּ וּמְרוּדֶ֑יהָ Jerusalem remembers the days of her affliction and her wanderings, *Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 4PW*	**Extraposed Clausal Appositive to 1c** Descriptive Attribution **Development of Image 1':** The Desolate City Personified as a Woman
7b	כֹּל מַחֲמַדֶּ֔יהָ אֲשֶׁר הָיוּ מִימֵי קֶדֶם All of her precious things which were from ancient days. *Single dependent phrase line of 3C, 3PW*	**Non Apposition: Enjambment** Line 7b is another complement to זכרה in 7a
7c	בִּנְפֹ֤ל עַמָּהּ֙ בְּיַד־צָ֔ר When her people fell into the hand of an adversary, *Dependent temporal clause line of 3C, 3PW*	**Non Apposition** Temporal clause dependent on 7d
7d	וְאֵ֥ין עֹזֵ֖ר לָ֑הּ A helper did not exist for her. *Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 2PW*	**Non Apposition: Enjambment** Main clause on which 7c is dependent
7e	רָא֣וּהָ צָרִ֔ים Adversaries look at her; *Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 2PW*	**Additive Non Apposition**
7f	שָׂחֲק֖וּ עַל מִשְׁבַּתֶּֽהָ׃ they laugh at her shattering. *Single independent verbal clause line of 2C, 2PW*	**Clausal Appositive to 7e** Intensifying Attribution

Line 7a is an extraposed clausal appositive to 1c. The apposition is descriptive in nature. The anchor line, *The populous one among the nations – the princess among the provinces! – has become a tribute,* describes a city who has gone into exile. The appositive line, *Jerusalem remembers the days of her affliction and her wanderings,* modifies the anchor line, describing personified Jerusalem as one who remembers the events described in the anchor clause.[114] Line 7b is non appositional because it is enjambed; 7b is the second complement to זכרה in 7a (§4.1.23, 4.1.24).

Line 7c continues to develop the image of a personified city going into exile. Line 7c provides a temporal frame (*When her people fell...*) for the following enjambed line (*...a helper did not exist for her*). Jerusalem remembers the absence of a helper in her time of need, making her loneliness all the more painful.

Line 7e is an additive non-appositional line that describes Jerusalem's descent into exile in more detail. Line 7e serves as an anchor clause for 7f, which is a clausal appositive of intensifying attribution – not only did Jerusalem's adversaries look at her (an act which given the context is likely negative, but not necessarily so), they *laughed* at her destruction (7f).

4.2.6 Lines 8a-9c: Development of Image 1'

[114] "In an apposition of attribution, the appositive is not equivalent to the anchor; instead it modifies or describes it" (Holmstedt and Jones, "Apposition in Biblical Hebrew," 35).

8a	חֵטְא חָטְאָה יְרוּשָׁלַ͏ִם A sin Jerusalem sinned; *Single independent verbal clause line of 3PW, 3C*	**Non Apposition** Development of **Image 1:** The Desolate City *qua* City
8b	עַל־כֵּן לְנִידָ֖ה הָיָתָה For this reason she became an impure thing. *Dependent verbal clause line of 3C, 3PW*	**Non Apposition** Enjambed result clause dependent on 8a Development of **Image 1':** The Desolate City Personified as a Woman
8c	כָּל־מְכַבְּדֶ֙יהָ֙ הִזִּילוּהָ All those who honour her [now] despise her *Independent verbal clause line of 3C, 2PW*	**Extraposed Clausal Appositive to 2c** Reformulation
8d	כִּי־רָ֣אוּ עֶרְוָתָ֔הּ because they have seen her nakedness; *Dependent verbal clause line of 2C, 3PW*	**Non Apposition** Enjambed causal clause dependent on main clause in 8c
8e	גַּם־הִ֥יא נֶאֶנְחָה וַתָּ֖שָׁב אָחֽוֹר׃ Indeed, she groaned and turned away. *Double clause line of 4C, 4PW*	**Additive Non Apposition**
9a	טֻמְאָתָ֣הּ בְּשׁוּלֶ֔יהָ לֹ֥א זָכְרָ֖ה אַחֲרִיתָ֑הּ Her uncleanness [is] on her skirts – she did not consider her end – *Double clause line of 4C, 4PW*	**Extraposed Clausal Appositive to 8b** Descriptive Attribution
9b	וַתֵּ֣רֶד פְּלָאִ֔ים she went down spectacularly. *Single independent verbal clause line of 2C, 2PW*	**Extraposed Clausal Appositive to 3a** Descriptive Attribution
9c	אֵ֥ין מְנַחֵ֖ם לָ֑הּ (One) (who) comforts does not exist for her. *Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 2PW*	**Extraposed Clausal Appositive to 8c** Reformulation

Verse 8 cites Jerusalem's sinfulness as a cause for her current desolation. Line 8a is a non-appositional line that focuses on Jerusalem's sin, and line 8b is an enjambed line that describes the outcome of that sin.

I read 8c as an extraposed clausal appositive that reformulates 2d: *All of her friends have betrayed her* (2d), in other words, *All those who honour her* [*now*] *despise her* (8c). Line 8d is an enjambed line that describes the cause for the disdain Jerusalem endures (*All those who honour her* [*now*] *despise her* [8c] because *they have seen her nakedness* [8d]). I read 8e as a non-appositional line that describes Jerusalem's response to being exposed.

Lines 9a-c continue to focus on Jerusalem's sin as cause for her desolation. Line 9a is an extraposed descriptive appositive of attribution to 8b: *She became an impure thing* (8b), *Her uncleanness* [*is*] *on her skirts* (9a). I read 9b as an appositive that reformulates 3a: *Judah has gone into exile by abuse and heavy labour* (3a), in other words, *She went down spectacularly* (9b). Line 9c is an appositive that reformulates 8c: *All those who honour her* [*now*] *despise her* (8c), in other words, (*one*) (*who*) *comforts does not exist for her.*

4.2.7 Lines 9d-e: Image 1' – The Woman Cries Out to God

9d	רְאֵה יְהוָה אֶת־עָנְיִי	**Non Apposition** First instance of direct speech
	"See, O Yhwh, my affliction, *Single independent verbal clause line of 2C, 3PW*	
9e	כִּי הִגְדִּיל אוֹיֵב׃	**Non Apposition** **Enjambment** Line e is a descriptive clausal appositive to את־עניי in 9d
	that [the] enemy has become great!" *Single dependent verbal clause line of 2C, 3PW*	

Line 9d is a non-appositional line in which the city speaks for herself by calling on God to see her affliction. Line 9e is dependent on 9d and is therefore enjambed. Line 9e is an appositive clause that describes את עניי : *See, O Yhwh, my affliction, that* [*the*] *enemy has become great!*

4.2.8 Lines 10a-11b: Image 1 – Description of Jerusalem's Fall

10a	יָדוֹ פָּרַשׂ צָר עַל כָּל־מַחֲמַדֶּיהָ The adversary stretched his hand over all her precious things, *Single independent verbal clause line of 4C, 4PW*	**Clausal Appositive to 9e** Descriptive Attribution
10b	כִּי־רָאֲתָה גוֹיִם בָּאוּ מִקְדָּשָׁהּ She saw nations [that] entered her sanctuary!, *Independent verbal clause line of 4C, 5PW*	**Clausal Appositive to 10a** Intensifying Attribution
10c	אֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתָה לֹא־יָבֹאוּ בַקָּהָל לָךְ׃ [Nations] that you commanded may not enter your assembly. *Dependent clause line of 3C, 4PW*	**Non Apposition** Enjambed relative clause modifying גוים in 10b
11a	כָּל־עַמָּהּ נֶאֱנָחִים מְבַקְשִׁים לֶחֶם All of her people [are] groaning, seeking bread; *Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 4PW*	**Extraposed Clausal Apposition to 6b, c** Intensifying Attribution
11b	נָתְנוּ מַחֲמוּדֵיהֶם [מַחֲמַדֵּיהֶם] בְּאֹכֶל לְהָשִׁיב נָפֶשׁ They trade their precious things in exchange for food to restore life. *Single independent verbal clause line (with dependent infinitival clause) 4CW, 5PW*	**Clausal Appositive to 11a** Descriptive Attribution

Verses 10-11 describe Judah's fall into exile in detail. I read 10a as a clausal appositive that describes the actions of her enemies: [*the*] *enemy has become great* (9e); *The adversary stretched his hand over all her precious things* (10a). Line 10a then serves as an anchor clause for the intensifying appositive in 10b: *The adversary stretched his hand over all her precious things* (10a); *She saw nations* [*that*] *entered her sanctuary!* (10b). The emphatic כי at the beginning of 10b serves the intensifying effect of the apposition. Line 10c is an enjambed relative clause that modifies גוים in 10b.

I read line 11a as a clausal appositive of attribution to the clause that spans 6b and c: *Her leaders have become like deer* [*that*] *cannot find pasture* (6b, c); what's more, *All her people* [*are*] *groaning, seeking bread.* I understand line 11a as intensifying attribution because it is not only Jerusalem's leaders who have become so pitiful but all of her people. Line 11a then serves as an anchor clause for its appositive in 11b: *All her people* [*are*] *groaning, seeking bread; They trade their precious things in exchange for food to restore life.* Line 11b describes the way the people search and attempt to procure food.

4.2.9 Lines 11c, d: Image 1' – The Woman Cries Out to God

11c	רְאֵה יְהוָה וֶהַבִּיטָה	**Extraposed Clausal Appositive to** 9d Second instance of speech directed at Yhwh
	"Look, O Yhwh, and see *Single independent verbal clause line of 2C, 3PW*	
11d	כִּי הָיֵיתִי זוֹלֵלָה׃	**Non Apposition** Enjambment Line 11d is the complement clause to הביטה in 11c
	that I am worthless!" *Dependent clause line of 1C, 3 PW*	

Lines 11c and d are appositives to lines 9d and e: *See, O Yhwh, my affliction, / that the enemy has become great!* (9d, e) // *Look, O Yhwh and see / that I am worthless!* (11c, d). There is significant overlap in both their syntax and semantics:

9d	רְאֵה יְהוָה אֶת־עָנְיִי	11c	רְאֵה יְהוָה וֶהַבִּיטָה
	"See, O Yhwh, my affliction, *Single independent verbal clause line of 2C, 3PW*		"Look, O Yhwh, and see *Single independent verbal clause line of 2C, 3PW*
9e	כִּי הִגְדִּיל אוֹיֵב׃	11d	כִּי הָיֵיתִי זוֹלֵלָה׃
	that [the] enemy has become great!" *Single dependent verbal clause line of 2C, 3PW*		that I am worthless!" *Single dependent clause line of 1C, 3 PW*

The major syntactic difference between these line pairs is that 9d has a complement (אֶת־עִנְיִי) that is modified by the non-restrictive כִּי clause in 9e, whereas the כִּי clause in 11d *is* the complement to 11c's הִבִּיטָה.

4.2.10 Lines 12a-15c: Development of Images 1' and 2

12a	לֹוא אֲלֵיכֶם כָּל־עֹבְרֵי דָּרֶךְ׃	**Non Apposition** Speech Directed at Passersby
	[I am] not [worthless] to you, all passersby [on the] way! *Single null copula clause line of 3C, 3PW*	
12b	הַבִּיטוּ וּרְאוּ	**Non Apposition** Main clause for 12c
	Look and see *Double clause line of 2C, 2PW*	
12c	אִם־יֵשׁ מַכְאוֹב כְּמַכְאֹבִי	**Non Apposition** Enjambment
	if a pain exists like my pain – *Dependent verbal clause line of 3C, 4PW*	
12d	אֲשֶׁר עוֹלַל לִי	**Non Apposition** Enjambment
	which he dealt out [it] on me, *Dependent verbal clause line of 2C, 2PW*	
12e	אֲשֶׁר הוֹגָה יְהוָה בְּיוֹם חֲרוֹן אַפּוֹ׃	**Non Apposition** Enjambment **Image 2: Yhwh as Disciplinarian**
	which Yhwh has caused [me] to suffer on the day of his burning anger. *Dependent verbal clause line of 3C, 3PW*	
13a	מִמָּרֹום שָׁלַח־אֵשׁ	**Extraposed Clausal Appositive to 5c** Descriptive Attribution
	From [the] heights he sent fire, *Independent verbal clause line of 3C, 3PW*	
13b	בְּעַצְמֹתַי וַיִּרְדֶּנָּה	**Non Apposition** Enjambment
	into my bones, he ruled over it. *Dependent verbal clause line of 3C, 2PW*	
13c	פָּרַשׂ רֶשֶׁת לְרַגְלָי	**Extraposed Clausal Appositive to 5c** Descriptive Attribution
	He spread a net for my feet, *Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 3PW*	
13d	הֱשִׁיבַנִי אָחֹור	**Extraposed Clausal Appositive to 5c** Descriptive Attribution
	He made me turn back, *Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 2PW*	

13e	נְתָנַנִי שֹׁמֵמָה	**Extraposed Clausal Appositive to 5c** Descriptive Attribution
	He made me desolate – *Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 2PW*	
13f	כָּל־הַיּוֹם דָּוֶה׃	**Clausal Appositive to 13e** Reformulation
	Every day (I) (am) faint. *Single null copula clause line of 2C, 2PW*	
14a	נִשְׂקַד עֹל פְּשָׁעַי בְּיָדוֹ יִשְׂתָּרְגוּ	**Extraposed Clausal Appositive to 5c** Descriptive Attribution
	A yoke of my transgressions was bound; by his hand they were fastened together – *Double clause line of 4C, 4PW*	
14b	עָלוּ עַל־צַוָּארִי הִכְשִׁיל כֹּחִי	**Additive Non Apposition**
	They went up upon my neck; he made my strength stumble. *Double clause line of 4C, 4PW*	
14c	נְתָנַנִי אֲדֹנָי בִּידֵי לֹא־אוּכַל קוּם׃	**Extraposed Clausal Appositive to 5c** Descriptive Attribution
	The Lord gave me into the hands of (the one) (who) I am not able to stand (against him). *Single independent verbal clause line of 4C, 5PW*	
15a	סִלָּה כָל־אַבִּירַי | אֲדֹנָי בְּקִרְבִּי	**Clausal Appositive to 14c** Reformulation
	The Lord spurned all my mighty men in my midst; *Single independent verbal clause line of 4C, 4PW*	
15b	קָרָא עָלַי מוֹעֵד לְשַׁבֵּר בַּחוּרָי	**Clausal Appositive to 15a** Reformulation
	He summoned an assembly against me to shatter my mighty men. *Single independent verbal clause line (with infinitival purpose clause) of 4C, 5PW*	
15c	גַּת דָּרַךְ אֲדֹנָי לִבְתוּלַת בַּת־יְהוּדָה׃	**Clausal Appositive to 15b** Reformulation
	A winepress the Lord treaded for Virgin Daughter Judah. *Single independent verbal clause line of 4C, 4PW*	

The woman speaks again in 12a, a non-appositional line in which the woman addresses her neighbours rather than God. She demands that her neighbours look at her situation and assess the severity of the consequences Yhwh has brought upon her (12b-15d). Lines 12a-e are all non-appositional: 12a is an initial address to the passersby. Line 12b is an imperative directed at the nations to *look and see*, and 12c is the enjambed complement clause that specifies what Jerusalem wants her neighbours to assess: *Look and see* (12b) *if a pain exists like my pain* (12c). Line 12d is an enjambed relative clause that modifies *my pain* in 12c. Line 12e functions similarly, but it also resumes the second image of the poem, Yhwh as Disciplinarian, which was first introduced in 5c. Yhwh is the subject of most of the verbs in 12e-15d.[115]

Verses 13-15 all describe the pain that Yhwh caused Zion to suffer and develop the image of Yhwh as disciplinarian. I read line 13a as an extraposed clausal appositive to 5c: *Surely, Yhwh has caused her to suffer on account of the multitude of her transgressions* (5c) */ from the heights he sent fire* (13a). Line 13a is an appositive of attribution because it describes how Yhwh caused the city to suffer on account of her transgressions. Line 13b is an enjambed subordinate clause that begins with the PP בעצמתי, an adjunct to line 13b's שלח.

Like 13a, I read line 13c as an extraposed clausal appositive to 5c: *Surely, Yhwh has caused her to suffer on account of the multitude of her transgressions* (5c) */ he spread a net for my feet* (13c). Line 13d is another extraposed clausal appositive to 5c: *Surely, Yhwh has caused her to suffer on account of the multitude of her transgressions* (5c) */ he made me turn back* (13d), as is 13e: *Surely, Yhwh has caused her to suffer on account of the multitude of her transgressions* (5c) */ he made me desolate* (13e). Line 13f is an appositive that reformulates 13e: *he made me desolate* (13e) */ every day* (*I*) (*am*) *faint* (13f). Line 14a is another extraposed clausal appositive to 5c: *Surely, Yhwh has caused her to suffer on account of the multitude of her transgressions* (5c) */ A yoke of my transgressions was bound; by his hand they were fastened together* (14a).

Line 14b continues the description of Yhwh as disciplinarian via additive non-apposition: *A yoke of my transgressions was bound; by his hand they were fastened together* (14a) / *they went up*

[115] Yhwh is the subject of all of the verbs in these lines except the null copula in 13f, the verbs נשקד and ישתרגו in 14a, and עלו in 14b.

upon my neck; he made my strength stumble (14b). I read line 14c as another descriptive appositive to 5c: *Surely, Yhwh has caused her to suffer on account of the multitude of her transgressions,* (5c) *The Lord gave me into the hands of* (*one*) (*who*) *I am not able to stand* (*against him*) (14c).

I read line 15a as a clausal appositive that reformulates 14c: *The Lord gave me into the hands of* (*one*) (*who*) *I am not able to stand* (*against him*), in other words, *The Lord spurned all my mighty men in my midst*. Line 15b is an appositive of intensifying attribution: *The Lord spurned all my mighty men in my midst* (15a) what's more, *He summoned an assembly against me to shatter my mighty men!* (15b). Line 15c reformulates 15b: *He summoned an assembly against me to shatter my mighty men!* in other words, *A winepress the Lord treaded for Virgin Daughter Judah* (15b).

4.2.11 Lines 16a-17e: Development of Images 1' and 2

16a	עַל־אֵ֫לֶּה ׀ אֲנִ֬י בוֹכִ֗יָּה "On account of these things I am weeping. *Single independent null copula clause line of 3C, 3PW*	**Non Apposition** **Image 1':** The Desolate City Personified as a Woman
16b	עֵינִ֣י ׀ עֵינִ֣י יָרְדָ֔ה מַ֑יִם My eye, my eye (is) descending waters *Single independent null copula clause line of 3C, 4PW*	**Clausal Appositive to אני בוכיה in 16a** Descriptive Attribution
16c	כִּֽי־רָחַ֤ק מִמֶּנִּי֙ מְנַחֵ֔ם Because far from me is (one) (who) comforts *Single independent null copula clause line of 3C, 4PW*	**Non Apposition** Enjambment Causal clause dependent on 16b
16d	מֵשִׁ֥יב נַפְשִׁ֖י (one) (who) restores my soul [is far from me]. *Dependent phrase line of 1C, 2PW*	**Clausal Appositive to 16c** Reformulation
16e	הָי֤וּ בָנַי֙ שׁוֹמֵמִ֔ים My children are desolate *Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 3PW*	**Additive Non Apposition**
16f	כִּ֥י גָבַ֖ר אוֹיֵ֑ב׃ because the enemy has become strong." *Single dependent verbal clause line of 2C, 3PW*	**Non Apposition** Enjambment Causal clause is dependent on 16e
17a	פֵּרְשָׂ֤ה צִיּוֹן֙ בְּיָדֶ֔יהָ Zion spreads out her hands, *Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 3PW*	**Non Apposition** **Image 1'** The Desolate City Personified as a Woman
17b	אֵ֥ין מְנַחֵ֖ם לָ֑הּ (One) (who) comforts does not exist for her. *Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 2PW*	**Additive Non Apposition**

17c	צִוָּה יְהוָה לְיַעֲקֹב	**Non Apposition** **Image 2** Yhwh as Disciplinarian
	Yhwh commands concerning Jacob: *Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 3PW*	
17d	סְבִיבָיו צָרָיו	**Non Apposition** Enjambment
	"(Those) surrounding him [are] his adversaries" *Null copula clause line of 1C, 2PW*	
17e	הָיְתָה יְרוּשָׁלַ͏ִם לְנִדָּה בֵּינֵיהֶם׃	**Extraposed Clausal Appositive to 9a** **Image 1':** The Desolate City Personified as a Woman
	Jerusalem is an impure thing in their midst. *Single verbal clause line of 4C, 4PW*	

In line 16a the poet shifts from developing Image 2, Yhwh as disciplinarian, back to Image 1', the desolate city personified as a woman, with a non-appositive clause. Up until this point in the poem the audience has heard the poet's description of the woman, but in 16b-e, the woman describes herself. The woman's speech in lines 16b and c affirm the narrator's descriptions of her in verse 2. Line 16b, *My eye, my eye* (*is*) *descending waters,* mirrors 2a, *She weeps bitterly in the night, her tears* (*are*) *upon her cheek*, just as line 16c, (*One*) (*who*) *comforts is far from me,* recalls 2c, *She has no* (*one*) (*who*) *comforts among all who love her*. Line 16b is a clausal appositive that describes the action in line 16a: *On account of these things, I weep / My eye, my eye* (*is*) *descending waters*. Line 16c is an enjambed clause that provides the cause for the actions described in 16b: *My eye, my eye* (*is*) *descending waters* (16b) */ because* (כִּי) (*one*) (*who*) *comforts is far from me* (16c). Line 16d is a clausal appositive to 16c within the elided VP: (*one*) (*who*) *comforts is far from me,* which is to say, (*one*) (*who*) *restores my soul* [*is far from me*]. Line 16e is additive non-apposition, while 16f is an enjambed clause that provides the cause of Zion's inhabitants' desolation: *My children are desolate / because* (כִּי) *the enemy has become strong.* Line 17a is a non-appositional line that describes Zion reaching out her hands, followed by another additive non-appositional line that further describes her plight: *Zion spreads out her hands, /* [and] (*one*) (*who*) *comforts does not exist for her.*

Line 17c is a non-appositional line that returns to Image 2, Yhwh as Disciplinarian. Line 17d is an enjambed complement clause that provides the content of Yhwh's commandment. Line 17e (היתה ירושלם לנדה ביניהם) recalls 8b (על־כן לנידה היתה), but I read 17e as a descriptive appositive to 8c: *All those who honour her* (*now*) *despise her* (8c) / *Jerusalem is an impure thing in their midst* (17e).[116]

4.2.12 Lines 18a-19e: Zion Describes God, Addresses Nations; Development of Images 1' and 2

[116] In verse 8, Jerusalem's becoming an "unclean thing" is directly related to her sin, while in 17e, Jerusalem's becoming an "unclean thing" is tied to Yhwh's *reaction* to that sin. Lines 17c and d might imply that Jerusalem is regarded as an unclean thing *because of* Yhwh's command in 17d, but the absence of a clear syntactic signal (e.g., a subordinating particle or dependent clause) has led me to prefer the appositive reading.

18a	צַדִּיק הוּא יְהוָה	**Non Apposition** **Image 2: Yhwh as Disciplinarian**
	"Righteous is he, Yhwh! *Single null copula clause line of 3C, 3PW*	
18b	כִּי פִיהוּ מָרִיתִי	**Non Apposition** Enjambment: 18b is subordinate to 18a **Image 1': The Desolate City Personified as a Woman**
	But against his mouth I rebelled. *Dependent verbal clause line of 2C, 3PW*	
18c	שִׁמְעוּ־נָא כָל־עַמִּים [הָ][עַמִּים] וּרְאוּ מַכְאֹבִי	**Extraposed Clausal Appositive to 12b, c** Reformulation
	Hear, all [you] nations! See my pain! *Double clause line of 3C, 4PW*	
18d	בְּתוּלֹתַי וּבַחוּרָי הָלְכוּ בַשֶּׁבִי:	**Clausal Appositive to מכאבי in 18c** Identification
	My young women and my young men have gone into captivity. *Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 4PW*	
19a	קָרָאתִי לַמְאַהֲבַי	**Additive Non Apposition**
	I call to (those) (who) loved me, *Single independent verbal clause line of 2C, 2PW*	
19b	הֵמָּה רִמּוּנִי	**Additive Non Apposition**
	they betrayed me. *Verbal clause line of 3C, 2PW*	
19c	כֹּהֲנַי וּזְקֵנַי בָּעִיר גָּוָעוּ	**Additive Non Apposition**
	My priests and my elders died in the city *Verbal clause line of 3C, 4PW*	
19d	כִּי־בִקְשׁוּ אֹכֶל לָמוֹ	**Non Apposition** Enjambment Temporal clause dependent on 19c
	when they sought food for themselves *Single verbal clause line of 3C, 4PW*	
19e	וְיָשִׁיבוּ אֶת־נַפְשָׁם:	**Non Apposition** Enjambment Purpose clause dependent on 19d
	so that they might restore their life." *Single verbal clause line of 2C, 2PW*	

In 18a, the woman reacts to 17c-e and declares Yhwh to be righteous. The non-appositional clause in 18a coincides with a shift in imagery back to Image 2, Yhwh as disciplinarian. I read 18b as a subordinate clause that contrasts Yhwh's righteousness with the woman's rebelliousness. Because 18b is subordinate to 18a, the lines are enjambed. The enjambment coincides with a shift back to Image 1': the desolate city personified as a woman.

I read line 18c is an extraposed clausal appositive that reformulates the woman's speech in 12b and c: *Look and see / if there is pain like my pain* (12b, c); in other words, *Hear, all* [*you*] *nations! See my pain!* (18c). I read מכאבי in line 18c as the anchor for a clausal appositive of identification in 18d: *See my pain* (18c), namely, *My young women and young men have gone into captivity* (18d).

I read 19a-c as non-appositional lines that articulate further sources of the personified city's pain: *I called to my lovers / they betrayed me / My priests and elders died in the city* (19a-c). In the absence of a subordinating particle, I read 19b as additive non apposition rather than a subordinate contrasting clause (*I called to my lovers /* but *they betrayed me*). Lines 19d and e are subordinate clauses to the main clause in 19c.

Many of the lines in 18a-19e echo earlier parts of the poem as the personified city affirms the narrator's earlier description of her. For example, the woman's declaration in 18a, b that Yhwh is righteous and that she has been rebellious affirms the narrator's contention that Jerusalem sinned and her current state is a result of Yhwh's disciplinary action (5c, 8a and b, 12e-15c, possibly 17c-e). Similarly, line 18d (בתולתי ובחורי הלכו בשׁבי / *My young women and young men have gone into captivity*) affirms 3a, 5d (note the repetition of שׁבי and הלכו), and 6d (with the repetition of the lexeme הלך in the context of going into captivity). Lines 19a, b (קראתי למאהבי המה רמוני / *I called to my lovers / they betrayed me*) affirms the narrator's accounts in 2c, d (note the repetition of אהבים and the sense of betrayal) and 17a, b. Finally, the woman's description of her priests and elders in 19c-e aligns with the narrator's version of events in lines 6b-d and 11a, b.

4.2.13 Lines 20a-f: Zion Addresses God; Development of Image 1'

20a	רְאֵה יְהוָה כִּי־צַר־לִי "See, O Yhwh that I have distress! *Single independent verbal clause line (with kî clause complement) of 2C, 5PW*	**Extraposed Clausal Appositive to 9d** Reformulation **Image 1'** The Desolate City Personified as a Woman
20b	מֵעַי חָמַרְמָרוּ My guts are fermenting, *Single independent verbal clause line of 2C, 2PW*	**Additive Non Apposition**
20c	נֶהְפַּךְ לִבִּי בְּקִרְבִּי my heart is changed within me – *Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 3PW*	**Clausal Appositive to 20b** Reformulation
20d	כִּי מָרֹו מָרִיתִי I was wholly rebellious! *Single independent verbal clause line of 1C, 3PW*	**Additive Non Apposition**
20e	מִחוּץ שִׁכְּלָה־חָרֶב Outside, the sword bereaves; *Single verbal clause line of 3C, 3PW*	**Extraposed Clausal Appositive to 20a**
20f	בַּבַּיִת כַּמָּוֶת׃ In the house (is) (something) like death." *Single null copula clause line of 2C, 2PW*	**Clausal Appositive to 20e** Intensifying Attribution

Line 20a is an extraposed clausal appositive of intensification to 9d: *See, O Yhwh, my affliction* (9d), *See, O Yhwh, that I am distressed!* (20a). I read 20b as additive non apposition, and 20c as a clausal appositive that reformulates 20b: *My guts are fermenting* (20b), which is to say, *my heart is changed within me* (20c). Together 20b and c describe the personified city's recognition of her hard-hearted apostasy (*she did not consider her end* in 9a, *transgressions* in 5c, *sin* in 8a), which leads to her admission of guilt in 20d.

It is not clear whether lines 20e and f are part of the woman's speech, but because the rest of vv. 21 and 22 are speech, I have decided to read 20e and f that way also. I read 20e as an extraposed clausal appositive to 20a, and 20f as a clausal appositive to 20e: *See, O Yhwh that I have distress,* namely, *outside the sword bereaves,* what's more, *in the house* (*is*) (*something*) *like death.* Line 20e is an appositive that identifies the woman's distress, while 20f is an intensifying appositive that expresses the widespread suffering the city is experiencing.

4.2.14 Lines 21a-f: Description of the Callousness of Enemies; Development of Image 1'

21a	שָׁמְעוּ כִּי נֶאֱנָחָה אָנִי "They hear that I am groaning *Single independent verbal clause line (with kî clause complement) of 2C, 4PW*	**Extraposed Clausal Appositive to 19a** Descriptive Attribution
21b	אֵין מְנַחֵם לִי (One) (who) comforts does not exist for me. *Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 2PW*	**Extraposed Clausal Appositive to 19b** Intensifying Attribution
21c	כָּל־אֹיְבַי שָׁמְעוּ רָעָתִי All my enemies have heard [about] my calamity *Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 3PW*	**Extraposed Clausal Appositive to 21a** Intensifying Attribution
21d	שָׂשׂוּ כִּי אַתָּה עָשִׂיתָ They rejoice that you have done [this]! *Single independent verbal clause line (with kî clause complement) of 2C, 4PW*	**Extraposed Clausal Appositive to 21b** Intensifying Attribution
21e	הֵבֵאתָ יוֹם־קָרָאתָ You have brought the day [that] you announced *Single independent verbal clause line (with unmarked relative clause complement) of 2C, 3PW*	**Extraposed Clausal Appositive to 20a** Identification
21f	וְיִהְיוּ כָמוֹנִי׃ Let them become like me!" *Single independent verbal clause line of 2C, 2PW*	**Additive Non Apposition**

I read line 21a as an appositive to 19a, and 21b as an appositive to 19b:[117] *I call to those who loved me / they betrayed me* (19a, b); *They hear that I am groaning / one who comforts does not*

[117] Lines 21a, b also echo 17a, b: *Zion spread out her hands /* (*One*) (*who*) *comforts does not exist for her.*

exist for me (21a, b). Line 21a is a descriptive appositive to 19a: the city calls to those who loved her, and they hear her. I read 21b is an intensifying appositive to 19b: not only did the city's lovers betray her, but there is no hope whatsoever that the city will find a comforter – (one) (*who*) *comforts does not exist for me*.

I read 21e as an appositive to 20a: *See, O Yhwh, that I have distress,* namely, *You have brought the day* [*that*] *you announced.* Line 21f is a non appositional line in which the city calls on God to repay her enemies for their maltreatment of her.

4.2.15 Lines 22a-d: Final Plea to God

22a	תָּבֹא כָל־רָעָתָם לְפָנֶיךָ	**Clausal Appositive to 21f** Reformulation
	"Let all their wickedness come before you; *Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 3PW*	
22b	וְעוֹלֵל לָמוֹ	**Additive Non Apposition**
	Deal severely with them *Single independent verbal clause line of 2C, 2PW*	
22c	כַּאֲשֶׁר עוֹלַלְתָּ לִי עַל כָּל־פְּשָׁעָי	**Non Apposition** Enjambment
	Just as you have dealt severely with me on account of my iniquities! *Single dependent verbal clause line of 3C, 4PW*	
22d	כִּי־רַבּוֹת אַנְחֹתַי וְלִבִּי דַוֶּי׃	**Additive Non Apposition**
	Many are my groans, my heart is faint!" *Double null copula clause line of 4C, 5PW*	

Line 22a is a clausal appositive that reformulates 21f: *Let them become like me!,* in other words, *Let all their wickedness come before you.* This appositional relationship communicates the woman's convictions that: i) Zion has come to her pathetic state *because* her wickedness came to

God's attention, and ii) If her enemies' wickedness are brought to God's attention, they too will endure God's punishment, because God is righteous (18a). These core convictions are further communicated by line 22c, as Zion acknowledges that her plight has come at the hand of God. The final line in the poem is additive non-apposition, a final articulation of vulnerability that is doubtless rooted in the hope that God will look, see, and take pity on Zion.

4.3 Comparing Syntactic and Standard Descriptions of Lamentations 1

In this section, I compare my analysis of Lamentations 1 using The Revised and Extended *HVS* Model with Dobbs-Allsopp's and Berlin's Standard Descriptions of the same poem. I am framing this discussion as a comparison between Standard and Syntactic descriptions, but the distinction between the approaches is not as neat as the framing suggests. Dobbs-Allsopp and Berlin are both cognizant of the syntactic dimensions of parallelism in poetic prosody, and I am not suggesting that their analysis of BH poetry focuses on semantic parallelism to the exclusion of syntax. What I am suggesting is that their approach remains *primarily* semantic parallelism-centered,[118] whereas my approach to both lineal and interlineal dynamics in BH poetry is syntax-centered.

Because Lamentations 1 is a long poem, it is impractical to compare our analyses of every line. Instead, I will compare selected lines from each verse. The lines I have chosen are those on

---

[118] Dobbs-Allsopp certainly critiques "the predisposition to all but equate parallelism with Hebrew poetry", and argues that "to continue labelling lines as parallel even when they do not exhibit any recognizable form of parallelism simply renders the whole notion of parallelism meaningless" (Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations," 221). Moreover, Dobbs-Allsopp's *On Biblical Poetry* is an entire monograph that focuses on aspects of BH poetry *other than* parallelism. Nevertheless, while Dobbs-Allsopp has widened the lens on BH poetry beyond a narrow parallelistic focus, in "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations," he contends that "the general play of syntax and line as they counterpoint each other offers a better perspective from which to understand *the minority of non-parallel lines in Hebrew verse*" (221, emphasis added). In other words, Dobbs-Allsopp continues to view the majority of Hebrew verse lines through the lens of semantic parallelism; the fact that there is a substantial number of non-parallel lines in the book of Lamentations makes it fertile ground for his study of enjambment. However, without a methodologically-grounded means of lineating the poetry, his study of enjambment in Lamentations too often begs the questions he is asking.

Berlin's parallelistic approach is reflected in this quotation from her Lamentations commentary: "*The hallmark of biblical poetry is the parallelism in adjacent lines*, a device that has a powerful effect on the movement and meaning of the poem. In most biblical poetry, parallel lines tend to be of similar length, and that is the source of the rhythm. (I use the term *rhythm* because I do not think there is actual meter, in any countable sense, in biblical poetry)" (Berlin, *Lamentations,* 2, emphasis added).

which Dobbs-Allsopp has written most extensively, namely those verses he discusses in his articles on enjambment in Lamentations.[119] Dobbs-Allsopp finds enjambment in every verse of Lamentations 1,[120] and the lines in question provide a sufficient amount of material to allow a fair comparison of Dobbs-Allsopp's, Berlin's, and my readings. Before I introduce Dobbs-Allsopp's *ZAW* articles, I will say a word about *qinah* metre.

4.3.1 *Qinah* metre

In the introduction to her Lamentations commentary, Berlin writes,

> In Lamentations, many sets of lines are of unequal length, producing a rhythm usually called *qinah* meter (those who speak in terms of meter often describe it as 3:2 in terms of accented syllables, and those who speak in syntactic terms say that the first line is an independent thought and the second line is dependent on it). The effect of *qinah* meter, that is, the rhythm of dirges, is sometimes said to be more solemn than the effect of more evenly balanced rhythms, and that may be so; but it should be noted that *qinah* meter is used in some nonlament poems and not all dirges are in *qinah* meter (see Hillers, 18-19).[121]

As her comments above suggest, Berlin is largely indifferent to *qinah* metre, neither advocating it nor making a point to critique it at every opportunity. By contrast, Dobbs-Allsopp is more sympathetic to the concept of (syntactic) *qinah* metre and assumes its presence in the poem. In a footnote on the first page of his "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations: A Taxonomy (Part 1)," Dobbs-Allsopp writes, "The so-called qinah meter and its prominence in Lamentations is well

---

[119] F. W. Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations: A Taxonomy (Part 1)," *ZAW* 113 (2001): 219-239; "The Effects of Enjambment in Lamentations (Part 2)," *ZAW* 113 (2001): 370-385.

[120] In total, Dobbs-Allsopp has "identified between 166 and 177 of the 244 couplets in Thr 1-4 as involving some form of enjambment. These numbers fall within the range of Gray's own estimates of non-parallel lines in these poems (159-187)–though as stated earlier parallelism and enjambment need not be mutually exclusive features of verse" ("The Effects of Enjambment," 371).

[121] Adele Berlin, *Lamentations,* 2-3. Raymond de Hoop makes a similar assessment of the widespread assumption that Lamentations is written in *qinah* metre, writing, "According to most of the introductions to the book of Lamentations, the book is written in the so-called *qinah*-meter, being characteristic of a dirge or a lament. The metre is generally described as a 3 + 2 metre, i.e., three words followed by two words" (Raymond de Hoop, "Lamentations: The Qinah-Metre Questioned," in *Delimitation Criticism: A New Tool in Biblical Scholarship*, ed. M. C. A. Korpel and Joseph Oesch [Leiden: Brill, 2000], 80).

known."[122] Implicit in the concept of *qinah* metre is the presumption that the poem is arranged in couplets, and Dobbs-Allsopp accepts this assumption:

> The first four poems in the book of Lamentations exhibit a strikingly high degree of couplets made up of mostly unbalanced (typically a longer followed by a shorter line) and largely nonparallel lines. In this kind of couplet intralinear dynamics are governed not by the play of matching as in parallelism but by the play of syntax; lineation and syntax as they counterpoint each other provide these poems' general prosody.[123]

And yet, without clear criteria to guide the lineation of poetry, on what basis can metre of any kind be asserted? Dobbs-Allsopp addresses this question early in his first article on enjambment:

> The fact … that the whole question of lineation in Hebrew poetry has never been seriously addressed has … impeded the appreciation of enjambment in Hebrew poetry. This desideratum is significant as enjambment is a function of lineation. Therefore the nature of lineation in a given poetic tradition will bear directly on the perceived relevance of enjambment to that tradition … One of the principal claims pressed in the present study is the need to pay greater attention to lineation, whatever its ultimate nature, and the pauses which lineation enforces.[124]

So far, so good (although his assertion that lineation has never been seriously addressed is puzzling given O'Connor's work, which he cites elsewhere). On the basis of these comments we might expect Dobbs-Allsopp to present the principles for lineation for the purposes of his study. Unfortunately, this is not the case; instead, Dobbs-Allsopp presents examples of enjambment that he has identified without justifying the lineation that the enjambment presupposes. A close study of Dobbs-Allsopp's examples reveals that as a rule he follows follows the lineation of BHS, assuming that each line on the page (typically consisting of approximately 5 orthographic words) is a bicolon made up of two poetic lines.[125] This accounts for the high degree of agreement

---

[122] F. W. Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations," 219, note 2. Dobbs-Allsopp makes a similar comment in his second article: "The extensive use of enjambment and the nature of its deployment combine with other formal elements of Lamentations' verse, such as the qinah meter, the acrostic, and the variety of speaking voices (perspective), to build into this sequence of poems a palpable sense of cohesion and to project a feeling of progression and directionality" (Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Effects of Enjambment in Lamentations", 370-371).

[123] Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations," 219.

[124] Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations," 221-222.

[125] Furthermore, the only times that Dobbs-Allsopp justifies his lineation is when he deviates from the lineation provided by *BHS;* see footnotes 27, 29, 40, 68, 76 in "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations: A Taxonomy (Part 1)."

between his and Berlin's lineation. However, the lineation in *BHS* is the result of the interpretive choices of the editors, and those interpretive choices are in fact based on C. Budde's assertion that Lamentations exhibits *qinah* metre.[126] De Hoop explains,

> Though Budde has not been the first to discuss the metre of Lamentations and its problems, he certainly was the first to consider this pattern to be specific for a *qinah* and to describe it more systematically. The pattern was not limited to the 3 + 2 but to an alternating pattern in which the first colon would be longer than the second, so 4 + 3, and 4 + 2 are also possible. The effect of a 'rhythm that dies away', producing a 'choked or sobbing effect', gives the *qinah*-metre its distinctive intonation.[127]

Budde's study was so influential that "Budde's formulation has become a classic and in *BHS* (but already in *BHK*[1/2]) the layout of Lamentations is printed according to this metre."[128] The fact that the lineation in *BHS* is based on a supposed *qinah* metre should give us pause, especially given its shaky foundation. De Hoop explains,

> Despite the fact that Budde acknowledged deviations within the pattern, he frequently read three words (or stresses), where the Hebrew text had only two, or ignored the logical division of the text, or assumed corruption of the text, in order to substantiate his theory. Emendations *metri causa* have been criticised by others (especially by E. Sievers), resulting in the fact that scholars are a little more reluctant now to accept these emendations. Nevertheless, Budde's attempt to obtain a division of the text with a longer first part and a shorter second one, by means of the disregarding of the logical division of the text on the basis of parallelism, is still followed (*e.g.* 2:8b).[129]

De Hoop provides six reasons to set aside the idea of *qinah* metre, of which I find the first, second, and fifth most compelling:

1. The alternating pattern long-short (3+2, 4+2, 4+3) is not exclusively restricted to the *qinot*, and can also be found in prophecies of hope, love songs (Song of Songs) and wisdom psalms (Psalm 119).

2. The supposed *qinah*-metre does not represent a large majority of metrical patterns within the laments of the Hebrew Bible. Even if we were to follow the suggested

---

[126] C. Budde, "Das hebräische Klagelied," *ZAW* 2 (1882), 1-52.

[127] de Hoop, "Lamentations: The Qinah-Metre Questioned," 81.

[128] de Hoop, "Lamentations: The Qinah-Metre Questioned," 82.

[129] de Hoop, "Lamentations: The Qinah-Metre Questioned," 82.

layout in *BHS,* an average percentage of 50% is found, with the most obvious exceptions in Lamentations 1 (34.4%) and Lamentations 3 (71.2%).

3. In order to identify the supposed *qinah*-metre, the general characteristics of Hebrew poetry, like the *parallelismus membrorum,* have frequently been ignored.

4. If we were to arrange the text on the basis of other criteria as, for example, *parallelismus mebrorum,* rather than metre, the number of occurrences of the supposed *qinah*-metre would decrease considerably.

5. The so-called *qinah*-metre, with its alternating pattern of 3 + 2 *etcetera,* disappears to a large extend [*sic*] from the Hebrew text of Lamentations if the Masoretic accentuation is used as a guideline on the delimitation of cola.

6. In line with the Masoretic accentuation, the ancient traditions as found in some of the manuscripts of 𝔊 and 𝔖, do not support the alternating pattern as presented in *BHS*.[130]

Finally, any description of a linguistic feature, whether it be enjambment or a proposed metre, must be based on a theory of language and follow a methodology.[131] As Holmstedt explains, "Without a theory, data are worthless, since they cannot be interpreted; without a clear methodology by which data are interpreted in light of a theory, the conclusions drawn can be nothing but suspect."[132] It is simply not the case that Dobbs-Allsopp's or Budde's lineation (on which the lineation of *BHS* was determined) was based on a theory of language with a clearly defined methodology. As a result, the lineation data should not be used to determine enjambment or to propose any type of metre, because this lineation cannot be interpreted or verified. By contrast, the lineation that I have proposed is based on the syntactic constraints outlined in chapter two, which are themselves based on a generative linguistic theory. My lineation and claims regarding enjambment can be tested against those constraints and requires no textual emendation to shoe-horn the text into a supposed metre.

---

[130] de Hoop, "Lamentations: The Qinah-Metre Questioned," 103-104.

[131] Robert D. Holmstedt, *The Relative Clause in Biblical Hebrew,* 19.

[132] Robert D. Holmstedt, *The Relative Clause in Biblical Hebrew,* 19.

4.3.2 Dobbs-Allsopp's "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations: A Taxonomy" and Berlin's *Lamentations* Commentary

In two articles published in 2001, Dobbs-Allsopp discussed the phenomenon of enjambment in the book of Lamentations and its poetic effect.[133] At the beginning of the first article, Dobbs-Allsopp notes the limits of a parallelistic approach to Lamentations 1-4:

> The first four poems in the book of Lamentations exhibit a strikingly high degree of couplets made up of mostly unbalanced (typically a longer followed by a shorter line) and largely nonparallel lines. In this kind of couplet intralinear dynamics are governed not by the play of matching as in parallelism but by the play of syntax; lineation and syntax as they counterpoint each other provide these poems' general prosody.[134]

There are a few factors I wish to highlight here. First, Dobbs-Allsopp assumes a shared understanding between himself and his reader regarding lineation. While Dobbs-Allsopp does provide examples of various enjambed lines in his article, he does not set out a complete lineation of any poem. However, in a substantial footnote he explains:

> The nature of lineation in Hebrew poetry will always be arguable since no native tradition about Hebrew prosody has survived from antiquity and lineation is not routinely shown in extant manuscripts (though some Qumran manuscripts of the Psalms [esp. 4QPs^{b}] are lineated, as are many of the manuscripts of Job, Psalms, Proverbs, and even Lamentations from the Middle Ages, see Kugel, *Idea*, 119-123). Nevertheless, that the line (or colon) is the principal unit of lineation in Hebrew verse is inferable from a wide variety of considerations, the most significant of which may be briefly summarized: the existence of single lines and triplets or tercets, alongside the more common couplet (or bicolon), show that the line must be the basic unit of lineation – the former cannot be generated from couplets; likewise parallelism presumes the individual line as its basic unit since it is that unit which is being matched or repeated; the line can be defined on bases distinct from parallelism (O'Connor, *Hebrew Verse Structure*); the acrostics in Ps 111 and 112 and the *'aleph* stanza of Ps 9f. (9,2-3) show the single line as a significant structural level; sound play appears most prominently at the level of individual lines … ; copies of Akkadian, Egyptian, and Syriac poetic texts are often lineated … ; and couplets and tercets are common verse patterns in many poetic traditions (such as English) where the single line remains the principal unit of lineation.[135]

---

[133] F. W. Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations: A Taxonomy (Part 1)," *ZAW* 113 (2001): 219-239; "The Effects of Enjambment in Lamentations (Part 2)," *ZAW* 113 (2001): 370-385.

[134] Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations," 219.

[135] Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations," note 15 on p. 222.

Dobbs-Allsopp argues that the line is basic to an understanding of BH poetry, but at the same time lineation itself is "arguable"; he cites parallelism as reliant on the line as unit, but he also states that the line can be defined on bases distinct from parallelism. What Dobbs-Allsopp does not explain is how *he* determines lineation, especially in poetry like Lamentations 1-4, which is not characterized by widespread parallelism. This is a problematic concession to make when the very concept of enjambment is based on an understanding of where lines begin and end!

Second, Dobbs-Allsopp states that Lamentations evidences a series of enjambed couplets, and that "In this type of couplet intralinear dynamics are governed not by the play of matching as in parallelism but by the play of syntax; lineation and syntax as they counterpoint each other provide these poems' general prosody."[136] Dobbs-Allsopp's observation about the interaction between lineation and syntax is apt, but I would argue that this observation applies to all poetic lines, regardless of whether they are enjambed. Finally, Dobbs-Allsopp assumes that the lines are organized as couplets without providing grounds for such an assumption.

Dobbs-Allsopp defines enjambment as "The continuation of syntax and sense across line junctures without a major pause."[137] Enjambment "may be contrasted with end-stopping, the coincidence of line terminus with a significant break in syntax."[138] In his first article on the topic, Dobbs-Allsopp provides a taxonomy of the "major kinds of enjambed lines in Lamentations," and it is from this article that I have selected the verses for consideration below.[139]

Because Dobbs-Allsopp does not provide a translation or lineation of Lamentations 1 in his *ZAW* articles or in his 2002 commentary,[140] I have combed his publications and have used his translations wherever he has provided them. In cases in which I have come up short, I have included his analysis without a translation. While I have been unable to find a publication in

---

[136] Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations," 219.

[137] Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations," 220.

[138] Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations, 219-220.

[139] Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations," 223.

[140] Dobbs-Allsopp, *Lamentations,* Interpretation: A Commentary for Teaching and Preaching (Louisville: John Knox Press, 2002). Dobbs-Allsopp does not provide his translation and/or lineation of Lamentations in the commentary either, but this was almost certainly an editorial decision and not his own.

which Dobbs-Allsopp provides a complete lineation of Lamentations 1, he does state that "The alphabetic acrostic constrains the first line of every stanza and the stanzas themselves consist of six lines or three couplets (1:7 is the only exception). Along with Lamentations 2, this poem exhibits the highest proportion of enjambed lines within the couplet."[141] By Dobbs-Allsopp's count, Lamentations 1 is 134 lines long (66 couplets + the "extra couplet" in verse 7); by my count, 98. Berlin provides lineation and translation of Lamentations 1 in her commentary and comes to a total of 132 lines (66 couplets) in keeping with the lineation of *BHS*. We turn now to Dobbs-Allsopp's and Berlin's reading of the interlineal dynamics in Lamentations 1.

4.3.2.1 Lamentations 1:1

Dobbs-Allsopp identifies subject enjambment in 1a[142] and verb enjambment in 1b:[143]

	Hebrew Text	**Dobbs-Allsopp's Translation**	**Berlin's Translation**
a	אֵיכָה ׀ יָשְׁבָה בָדָד	How she sits alone,	Alas, she sits alone,
	הָעִיר רַבָּתִי עָם	the city that once was full of people![144]	the city once thronged with people,
		Subject Enjambment	
b	הָיְתָה כְּאַלְמָנָה	NRSV: How like a widow she has become,	she has become like a widow.
			Verb Enjambment
	רַבָּתִי בַגּוֹיִם	D-A: [the] Lady over the Nations![145]	Noble among nations,
		Subject Enjambment	
c	שָׂרָתִי בַּמְּדִינוֹת	D-A: [The] Princess over the Provinces[146]	princess among provinces;
	הָיְתָה לָמַס׃	NRSV: has become a vassal.	she has become a forced laborer.
		Verb Enjambment	Verb Enjambment

[141] Dobbs-Allsopp, *Lamentations,* 49.

[142] Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations," 226. Dobbs-Allsopp's translation and lineation of 1a,b is from *Lamentations,* 54.

[143] Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations," 227-228.

[144] Dobbs-Allsopp provides the translation and lineation of lines 1a, b in *Lamentations,* p. 54, and his lineation of verse 1 in "The Effects of Enjambment in Lamentations," p. 374.

[145] Dobbs-Allsopp, *Lamentations,* 51.

Dobbs-Allsopp explains the effect of the subject enjambment in the first two lines thus:

> The first double entendre plays on the phrase "lonely sits" which, when considered initially and in isolation from the sentence's conclusion in the second line of the couplet, suggests the image of a city set apart and secure (Num. 23:9; Deut. 33:28; Jer. 49:31), an image of Israel in fact foretold by Balaam in Num. 23:9. The placement of the line terminus after "lonely" in the Hebrew ensures that this initial image of a city set apart and secure will resonate with the reader.[147]

Dobbs-Allsopp's description is interesting, but the fact that איכה carries with it "mournful associations" certainly tempers any notion that the poem is likely to describe a city dwelling secure.[148] Berlin writes, "The first word of the chapter, *ʾêkâ,* signals the discourse of lament, as it does also in chapters 2 and 4. It is an exclamation of despair that marks a sudden change from a glorious past to the degraded present (cf. Isa 1:21; Jer 48:17; Ezek 26:17), and the nature of that change is described in the rest of v. 1."[149]

In Dobbs-Allsopp's and Berlin's reading, the subject (העיר) is enjambed because it sits a line below its verb (ישבה); similarly, the subject of the third line (רבתי בגוים) is enjambed because it sits a line below its verb (היתה). Dobbs-Allsopp reads the sixth line of 1:1c as verbal enjambment because without the final line the fifth cannot be understood.[150]

---

[146] Dobbs-Allsopp explains his translation stating, "Indeed, the phrases translated by the NRSV as 'she that was great among the nations' (1:1b) and 'she that was princess among the provinces' (1:1c) cannot be so construed syntactically, but instead must name the city who is imagined as widow and slave in these couplets: 'Lady/Mistress over the Nations' and 'Princess over the Provinces'" (*Lamentations*), 51.

[147] Dobbs-Allsopp, *Lamentations,* 54; I assume that the line terminus to which Dobbs-Allsopp refers is the *rəbîăʿ* on בָּדָד.

[148] Dobbs-Allsopp himself admits, "Only the introductory 'How!' (and its mournful associations) and the immediately following image of Jerusalem as 'widow' intimate that the phrase can take on another meaning as well, that of a city alone and abandoned (cf. Isa. 27:10)" (Dobbs-Allsopp, *Lamentations,* 54).

[149] Berlin, *Lamentations,* 49.

[150] Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Enjambing Lines in Lamentations," 228. *Rejet* refers to "the word or small group of words shifted (*rejeté*) by enjambment into the succeeding line. When the *rejet* involves elements which are syntactically, semantically, or pragmatically required then the degree of enjambment is judged to be harsher than when the *rejet* involves elements which only add to or elaborate an otherwise complete phrase or clause" (Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations," 224).

Dobbs-Allsopp describes verb enjambment thus: "The most violent type of enjambment found clause internally in Lamentations occurs when the verb appears in the *rejet.* In these cases the first line of the couplet can not be understood until the second line is read" ("The Enjambing Line in Lamentations," 227.

Berlin lineates the first verse the same way as Dobbs-Allsopp, but her translation represents a different interpretation of the syntax. Dobbs-Allsopp discerns three clauses (one in each "couplet"). By contrast, Berlin's translation reflects a reading of one clause in line 1 followed by a second clause in lines 2-3. Berlin explains,

> I follow the accentuation of the MT, which puts the major break in the verse after "widow." This yields two groups of three lines (see also Provan, 36), a somewhat different pattern from most of the other verses, and from the rendering of this verse in most recent translations (NRSV, NJPS). The division into two groups of lines corresponds to the two parallel comparisons between Jerusalem's past and her present. She was once a flourishing metropolis and now she stands deserted; and she was once the capital of an independent country and is now the captive bound to provide forced labor for the conqueror.[151]

Like Berlin, I break the line after the *ʾatnaḥ,* although I do so primarily on syntactic grounds. Unlike Berlin, my reading does not result in two groups of three lines, but rather, two groups of two, which mirrors even more closely with the comparison between Jerusalem's past and her present that Berlin points out in the quote above. Berlin reads line 4 as an anchor for its appositive in line 5, and the verb in line 6 is enjambed. Like Berlin, I read רבתי בגוים as an anchor for its appositive שׂרתי במדינות, but unlike Berlin, I read it as one line (§4.2.1). Berlin explains,

> The idea of loneliness and vulnerability is nicely encapsulated in the image of the widow, the bereaved woman without a male protector who, like the orphan, the poor, and the stranger, is accorded special protection in biblical law … The widow image may also have a political implication that makes the two parts of v. 1 more closely related than first meets the eye. On the Merneptah Stele, line 27, the Egyptian word for "widow" is used to described plundered enemy lands. When applied to cities, the term "widow" refers to a once independent city that has become a vassal. In the poetic parallelism in v.1, this idea is given more concrete expression, for the vassal-widow is also the corvée laborer.[152]

Berlin states that the parallelism gives the idea of a vassal-widow becoming a labourer "more concrete expression," but this can also be explained by apposition: (*The*) *populous people has become like a widow* (1b), in other words, *The populous one among the nations – the princess among the provinces! Has become a tribute* (1c).

---

[151] Berlin, *Lamentations,* 49.

[152] Berlin, *Lamentations,* 49.

Dobbs-Allsopp and Berlin agree that the last line of the verse is enjambed, but the Maximizing Principle followed in the Revised and Extended *HVS* model maximizes the number of constituents per line, allowing רבתי בגוים שׂרתי במדינות היתה למס to stand as a single line. This lineation makes the appositional relationship between 1b and 1c more clear than a lineation that produces enjambment. Dobbs-Allsopp discerns three instances of enjambment in verse 1; my lineation produces none.

4.3.2.2 Lamentations 1:2

In verse 2, Dobbs-Allsopp posits something called "conjunctive *waw* enjambment" that he argues is a type of "syntactically marked sequentiality."[153] In his typology, Dobbs-Allsopp writes, "Here I have grouped all the likely examples of clauses joined by the conjunctive *waw*. Because of the typically paratactic nature of the conjunctive *waw* in Biblical Hebrew, I rank these kinds of clauses toward the weaker end of the dependency continuum."[154] According to Dobbs-Allsopp, the second line of verse two is an example of conjunctive *waw* enjambment:

	Hebrew Text	**Dobbs-Allsopp's Analysis**	**Berlin's Translation**
a	בָּכוֹ תִבְכֶּה בַלָּיְלָה		Bitterly she sobs at night,
	וְדִמְעָתָהּ עַל לֶחֱיָהּ	Syntactically Marked Sequentiality: Conjunctive *waw* Enjambment[155]	with tears on her cheeks.
b	אֵין־לָהּ מְנַחֵם		There is no comforter for her
	מִכָּל־אֹהֲבֶיהָ	Adjunct Enjambment	from among all who love her.

[153] Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations," 234.

[154] Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations," 235.

[155] Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations," 235.

It is unclear to me why Dobbs-Allsopp views the second line as sequential conjunctive *waw* enjambment; it seems unlikely that the poet means to convey that the woman weeps bitterly in the night *and then* her tears were upon her cheeks given that these events happen virtually simultaneously.

Dobbs-Allsopp identifies the fourth line in verse 2 as one of ten examples of adjunct enjambment in Lamentations 1. He writes, "Adjunct enjambment obtains when the *rejet* consists of an adjunct phrase, which in Lamentations usually entails either a prepositional phrase or a temporal adverbial."[156] If Dobbs-Allsopp's lineation is accepted, this is indeed what he describes as adjunct enjambment.

Both Dobbs-Allsopp and Berlin discern two instances of enjambment in verse 2, but the Revised and Extended *HVS* Model yields none. The multiple enjambments in Dobbs-Allsopp's and Berlin's reading gives the poem a halting quality as clauses are spread over more than one line. Without resorting to arguments based on a linguistically groundless *qinah* metre, it is unclear why the poet would resort to enjambing multiple lines within a verse. The lineation produced by the Revised and Extended *HVS* Model eliminates the enjambment and makes interlineal analysis more accessible.

[156] Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations," 224; for a definition of *rejet,* see note 92 above.

4.3.2.3 Lamentations 1:3

	Hebrew Text	Dobbs-Allsopp's Translation and Analysis	Berlin's Translation
a	גָּלְתָה יְהוּדָה מֵעֹנִי	Judah goes into exile amidst oppression	Judah was exiled after misery
	וּמֵרֹב עֲבֹדָה	And amidst hard servitude[157]	and much servitude;
		Appositional Enjambment	
b	הִיא יָשְׁבָה בַגּוֹיִם		she dwells among the nations,
	לֹא מָצְאָה מָנוֹחַ		finds no resting place.
c	כָּל־רֹדְפֶיהָ הִשִּׂיגוּהָ	All her pursuers overtake her	All her pursuers have trapped her
	בֵּין הַמְּצָרִים׃	Between the straits[158]	in narrow straits
		Adjunct Enjambment	

Dobbs-Allsopp states, "Appositional phrases are … internal syntactic constructions that get enjambed in Lamentations."[159] Dobbs-Allsopp discerns appositional enjambment in the "*a* couplet" of 1:3, but he does not explain why the line needs to be broken after מעני. I read מעני ומרב עבדה as a PP adjunct to גלתה, and I read Berlin's and Dobbs-Allsopp's "*a* couplet" as a single line (my 3a). My reading does not yield enjambment because the syntactic constraints on line length do not require the line to be broken until after עבדה. Similarly, what Berlin and Dobbs-Allsopp read as enjambment in the "*c* couplet" I read as a single independent verbal clause line of four constituents and three prosodic words (3d), which generates no enjambment.

Berlin, Dobbs-Allsopp, and I agree on the lineation of the "*b* couplet" (my 3b, c). Dobbs-Allsopp discerns two instances of enjambment in verse 3, whereas I discern none. Dobbs-Allsopp comments on the transition from the second to third verse thus:

---

[157] Dobbs-Allsopp's translation of the *a* couplet is in "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations," 229.

[158] Dobbs-Allsopp's translation of the *c* couplet is in "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations," 225.

[159] Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations," 228.

> The transition from 1:2 to 1:3 exhibits no obvious logical development, only the progression of the alphabet from *bet* to *gimel,* and perhaps an associative link between the "enemies" at the end of 1:2c, and exile among the nations and being pursued and overtaken in 1:3. The sense of metamorphosis is a consequence of juxtaposition and parataxis; it literally emerges in the space between the stanzas. Indeed, it is at this point in the opening section of the poem that the centrifugal tendency of the poetry begins to be felt most keenly, the sense of fragmentation to become most apparent. Individual stanzas succeed one another paratactically with only the cadenced progression of the alphabet and the patterned repetition of the third feminine pronominal forms to hold them together, strong threads that sew together otherwise disparate and disjointed stanzas.[160]

The paratactic nature of Lamentations has been noted by several scholars,[161] and while I do not disagree with this characterization, an analysis and recognition of the appositive style of BH poetry does challenge "the sense of fragmentation" that some scholars take as a given.[162] There are two dominant images that Lamentations 1 develops: Image 1, The City *qua* City (with its counterpoint, Image 1', The Desolate City Personified as a Woman), and Image 2: Yhwh as Disciplinarian. An analysis of the appositive style of this poem reveals that the poet develops one of these two images in every line. Dobbs-Allsopp is right that the progression of the alphabet and repetition of the third feminine pronominal forms hold the poem together, but more than anything else, it is the development of the main *images* of the poem that gives the poem cohesion, and the means of that development is local and extraposed apposition.

---

[160] Dobbs-Allsopp, *Lamentations,* 58.

[161] For example, Xuan Huong Thi Pham writes, "On the level of macro-structure, the majority of exegetes fail to discern any consistent flow of ideas in Lamentations 1 and 2. They evade the difficult issue of structure by substituting comments on a verse-by-verse basis" (*Mourning in the Ancient Near East and the Hebrew Bible,* Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 302 [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999], 15).

[162] For example, Berlin writes, "A major part of understanding a poem is discerning the relationships between and among its verses, between the parts that make up the whole. Parataxis makes determining the relationships difficult, because paratactic lines resist connection", but she tempers the focus on fragmentation when she writes, "Often the formal boundaries of the verses or the parallelisms are in tension with the onward movement of the thought, but this is a productive tension, reminding us that poetry tends not to convey its contents in a linear progression" (both of these quotations are from *Lamentations,* 5).

4.3.2.4 Lamentations 1:4

	Hebrew Text	Dobbs-Allsopp's Translation and Analysis	Berlin's Translation
a	דַּרְכֵי צִיּוֹן אֲבֵלוֹת		Zion's roads are in mourning,
	מִבְּלִי בָּאֵי מוֹעֵד	Adjunct Enjambment[163]	empty of festival pilgrims;
b	כָּל־שְׁעָרֶיהָ שׁוֹמֵמִין		all her gates are desolate.
	כֹּהֲנֶיהָ נֶאֱנָחִים	Her priests are sighing[164]	Her priests are groaning,
c	בְּתוּלֹתֶיהָ נוּגוֹת	Her maidens are suffering	her maidens are grieving,
	וְהִיא מַר־לָהּ:	Conjunctive *waw* Enjambment[165]	and she – it is bitter for her.

Dobbs-Allsopp writes, "The scene shifts back to the site of the destroyed Jerusalem in 1:4. Again, the stanza is not explicitly situated into its surrounding context except through the acrostic (the letter *dalet*) and the repetition of pronouns (e.g., "her gates," "her priests," "her young women," and "she")."[166] I understand the resumption of the city image as a function of extraposed apposition; Dobbs-Allsopp merely notes the return to the city image without explaining the syntactic mechanism by which this is accomplished.[167]

Dobbs-Allsopp and Berlin come to similar analyses of the first four lines, viewing the PP מבלי באי מועד in the second line as enjambed. Dobbs-Allsopp and Berlin also agree that כל־שעריה שוממין constitutes a line unto itself, followed by כהניה נאנחים and בתולתיה נוגות, each as separate lines. By contrast, the Revised and Extended *HVS* Model divides verse 4 into three lines, and in §4.2.3, I explain how these three lines work together to depict the specific sites associated with

[163] Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations," 225.

[164] The translation of this and the following line is in *Lamentations,* 62.

[165] Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations," 235.

[166] Dobbs-Allsopp, *Lamentations,* 60.

[167] Similarly, in her commentary Berlin notes that in verse 6, "The focus returns to the city," but she does not explain the syntactic mechanism for this shift in focus (Berlin, *Lamentations,* 53).

the city of Zion (her paths and gates) as well as Zion's inhabitants (festival-goers, priests, and young women).

4.3.2.5 Lamentations 1:5

	Hebrew Text	Dobbs-Allsopp's Translation and Analysis	Berlin's Translation
a	הָיוּ צָרֶיהָ לְרֹאשׁ		Her foes have become the master,
	אֹיְבֶיהָ שָׁלוּ		her enemies rest easy,
b	כִּי־יְהוָה הוֹגָהּ	Because the LORD inflicted [suffering] on her[168]	for the LORD made her suffer
	עַל רֹב־פְּשָׁעֶיהָ	Adjunct Enjambment[169]	for her many transgressions.
c	עוֹלָלֶיהָ הָלְכוּ שְׁבִי		Her little children have gone away as captives
	לִפְנֵי־צָר׃	Adjunct Enjambment[170]	before the foe.

Dobbs-Allsopp does not comment directly on the first two lines of this verse so it is difficult to know how he understands their syntax. Dobbs-Allsopp must not read the כִּי clause in line 4 as causal (as Berlin does) because he does not cite it as an example of dependent clause enjambment.[171] In any event, he and Berlin both read the fifth line as adjunct enjambment. For my part, I read Dobbs-Allsopp's and Berlin's *a* couplet as lines 5a and 5b, whereas I read their *b* couplets as a single line, 5c. As a result, my lineation yields no enjambment.

---

[168] This translation is in Dobbs-Allsopp, *Lamentations,* 68.

[169] Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations," 225.

[170] Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations," 225.

[171] There is reason to believe that Dobbs-Allsopp might cite this line as dependent even if he reads the כִּי as asseverative: "It is not always easy to determine the precise nuance of *kî* in Lamentations. However, its conventional use as a conjunction in Biblical Hebrew is enough to impart a sense of sequentiality even when *kî* is used asseveratively" ("The Enjambing Line in Lamentations," 234).

Of the final two lines of verse 5, Dobbs-Allsopp writes,

> The line break should come after *šᵉbî,* leaving *lipnê-ṣār* alone to form the second line. Prepositional phrases routinely occur by themselves in the second line of the couplet in Lamentations (1,2b.3c.5b.10a.11a.12c.20c; …). In particular, note the following second lines: *lipnê-rôdep* (1,6c) … The occurrence of *hālᵉkû baššœbî* in 1,18c also argues against dividing *hālᵉkû* and *šᵉbî* between two lines (cf. NJV).[172]

It is unclear to me why Dobbs-Allsopp feels justified in breaking the line after שׁבי when he follows *BHS* otherwise. Dobbs-Allsopp claims that "prepositional phrases routinely occur by themselves in the second line of the couplet," but even if this is true of *BHS'* lineation, I have explained above that their lineation is based on a conception of *qinah* metre that has no syntactic merit. My lineation is based on syntactic constraints that provide clear syntactic criteria against which each line can be checked, and in this verse, those criteria produce a lineation that keeps the prepositional phrases in the same line as the rest of their clauses: *Surely, Yhwh has caused her to suffer on account of the multitude of her transgressions* (5c), / *Her children went as captives before an adversary* (5d). Dobbs-Allsopp discerns two instances of enjambment in verse 5; my lineation generates none.

4.3.2.6 Lamentations 1:6

	Hebrew Text	Dobbs-Allsopp's Analysis	Berlin's Translation
a	וַיֵּצֵא מִן בַּת־צִיּוֹן		Gone from Dear Zion
	כָּל־הֲדָרָהּ	Subject Enjambment[173]	is all her splendor.
b	הָיוּ שָׂרֶיהָ כְּאַיָּלִים		Her princes have become like stags
	לֹא־מָצְאוּ מִרְעֶה	Unmarked Dependent Clause Enjambment[174]	that find no pasture,
c	וַיֵּלְכוּ בְלֹא־כֹחַ		but go on exhausted
	לִפְנֵי רוֹדֵף׃	Adjunct Enjambment[175]	before the pursuer.

[172] Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations," p 225, note 25.

[173] Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations," 226.

Dobbs-Allsopp's and Berlin's lineation results in subject enjambment in the second line of verse 6. Dobbs-Allsopp argues that this enjambment is used "to focus the topic or principal subjects of a stanza or larger section of a poem."[176] My lineation places the subject in the same line as the rest of the clause: *All of her splendour has gone out from Daughter Zion* (6a).

Dobbs-Allsopp, Berlin, and I all read לא־מצאו מרעה as an enjambed unmarked relative clause. Dobbs-Allsopp and Berlin read לפני רודף as adjunct enjambment, but my lineation places the adjunct in the same line as the rest of its clause: *Her leaders are like deer* (6b) / [*that*] *cannot find pasture* (6c); *They went without strength before pursuers* (6d). Dobbs-Allsopp finds three instances of enjambment in verse 6; my lineation generates none.

Regarding כל־הדרה, Berlin writes, "The 'splendor' may refer to the treasures of gold and silver, plundered by the enemy; or perhaps it refers to the city's leaders, described in the following lines as stags."[177] As noted in my analysis above (§4.1.19, §4.2.4), I read line 5d as an anchor clause for 6a, an appositive of reformulation, which provides a syntactic basis for reading the referent of כל־הדרה as עוליה.

[174] Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations," 237.

[175] Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations," 225.

[176] Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Effects of Enjambment in Lamentations," 376.

[177] Berlin, *Lamentations,* 53.

4.3.2.7 Lamentations 1:7

	Dobbs-Allsopp's Lineation	Dobbs-Allsopp's Analysis	Berlin's Lineation	Berlin's Translation
a	זָכְרָה יְרוּשָׁלַ͏ִם		זָכְרָה יְרוּשָׁלַ͏ִם	Jerusalem remembered
	יְמֵי עָנְיָהּ וּמְרוּדֶיהָ	Object Enjambment[178]	יְמֵי עָנְיָהּ וּמְרוּדֶיהָ	(in) the days of her misery and her trouble,
b	כֹּל מַחֲמֻדֶיהָ		כֹּל מַחֲמֻדֶיהָ אֲשֶׁר הָיוּ מִימֵי קֶדֶם	all her treasures of earlier days.
	אֲשֶׁר הָיוּ מִימֵי קֶדֶם	Dependent Relative Clause[179]		

Dobbs-Allsopp and Berlin deviate in their lineation of verse 7, with Dobbs-Allsopp asserting an "extra couplet" and Berlin reading two sets of three lines. Berlin reads ימי עניה ומרודיה as a temporal adjunct to זכרה rather than its complement. Dobbs-Allsopp and I both read ימי עניה ומרודיה as the complement to the verb זכרה, but Dobbs-Allsopp appears to read it as an enjambed complement (*Jerusalem remembers / the days of her affliction and her wanderings*),[180] whereas I read זכרה ירושלם ימי עניה ומרודיה as one line (7a).

Dobbs-Allsopp states that he reads the "*b* couplet" as "*kol maḥamudæhā/ʾᵃšær hāyû mîmê qædæm* (*contra* BHS)," [181] explaining that "Lamentations shows a strong preference to place clauses headed by *kol* (1,2b.3c.4b.6a.8b.11a.13c.21b; …) and by *ʾᵃšær* (1,10c.12b.c; …) as inseparable units comprising a single line." [182] As I noted in §4.3.2.5, it is not clear to me on what basis Dobbs-Allsopp decides when *BHS'* lineation is authoritative and when it is not.

[178] Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations," 227.

[179] Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations," 234.

[180] I say "appears to read" because without Dobbs-Allsopp's translation, I cannot be certain how he reads the verse. The articles on enjambment predate Dobbs-Allsopp's commentary, but his commentary is not much clearer: "In the days of her current 'affliction and wandering' (1:7a; cf. 1:3; 3:10; Isa. 58:7), Jerusalem remembers the 'precious things' from earlier times (1:7b), while her foes mock this turn of events (1:7d). Lamentations 1:7 is remarkable as well for its extra couplet (cf. 2:19), which, even if not original, fits contextually and helps explode any saturating effects that might accompany the poem's otherwise rigid stanzaic structure" (Dobbs-Allsopp, *Lamentations,* 62-63).

[181] Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations," 234, note 68.

[182] Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations," 234, note 68.

4.3.2.8 Lamentations 1:8

	Hebrew Text	Dobbs-Allsopp's Translation and Analysis	Berlin's Translation
a	חֵטְא חָטְאָה יְרוּשָׁלַ͏ִם		Grievously has Jerusalem sinned,
	עַל־כֵּן לְנִידָה הָיָתָה	Sequential Clause Enjambment[183]	therefore has she been banished.
b	כָּל־מְכַבְּדֶיהָ הִזִּילוּהָ	All who esteemed her despise her	All who once respected her treat her as worthless,
	כִּי־רָאוּ עֶרְוָתָהּ	For they see her nakedness	for they have seen her nakedness.
		kî Clause Enjambment[184]	
c	גַּם־הִיא נֶאֱנָחָה		Indeed, she herself groans,
	וַתָּשָׁב אָחוֹר׃	*waw* Consecutive Clause Enjambment	and turns away.

Dobbs-Allsopp, Berlin, and I come come to the same lineation of the first four lines of verse 8, but our analyses differ. Dobbs-Allsopp reads the second line of 8a as an example of sequential clause enjambment. Of these examples, he writes, "Here I have collected all the examples where some of sequentiality is overtly marked in the syntax. While a sense of parallelism may at times prevail in some of these examples, it is the sense of sequentiality that is most pronounced."[185] However, על־כן לנידה היתה is enjambed because it is a dependent result clause, *not* because it is temporally sequential.

Both Berlin and Dobbs-Allsopp break גם־היא נאנחה ותשב אחור into two lines (their *c* couplet). Dobbs-Allsopp calls these lines enjambed, but the syntax of the lines cannot sustain this analysis. While גם־היא נאנחה and ותשב אחור may be temporally sequential, lines are only enjambed when they are syntactically incomplete on their own; even if we accept Dobbs-Allsopp's lineation,

[183] Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations," 234.

[184] Analysis and translation of the "b couplet" is from Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations," 234.

[185] Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations," 234.

each line in the *c* couplet is syntactically complete without the other. The Revised and Extended *HVS* Model's syntactic constraints and the Maximizing Principle lead me to read גם־היא נאנחה ותשׁב אחור as a single line.

4.3.2.9 Lamentations 1:9

	Hebrew Text	Dobbs-Allsopp's Analysis	Berlin's Translation
a	טֻמְאָתָהּ בְּשׁוּלֶיהָ		Her impurity is in her skirts,
	לֹא זָכְרָה אַחֲרִיתָהּ	Sequential Clause Enjambment[186]	she had no regard for her future;
b	וַתֵּרֶד פְּלָאִים		and she had come down amazingly,
	אֵין מְנַחֵם לָהּ	Dependent Sequential Clause Enjambment[187]	there is no comforter for her.
c	רְאֵה יְהוָה אֶת־עָנְיִי		"Look, LORD, upon my misery,
	כִּי הִגְדִּיל אוֹיֵב:	*kî* Clause Enjambment[188]	For the enemy is triumphant."

Dobbs-Allsopp reads the second line of his *a* couplet as sequential clause enjambment. Even if these lines are sequential, they are not enjambed because neither line is dependent on the other. Berlin's translation indicates that she reads the two lines paratactically with no dependency between them. I read טמאתה בשׁוליה לא זכרה אחריתה as a double clause line of four prosodic words and four constituents.

Dobbs-Allsopp reads אין מנחם לה as an enjambed dependent sequential clause. Berlin reads the line paratactically, and I read it as an extraposed clausal appositive to 8c: *All* (*those*) (*who*) *honour her* [*now*] *despise her* (8c), (*One*) (*who*) *comforts does not exist for her* (9c).

---

[186] Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations," 237.

[187] Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations," 236.

[188] Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations," 234.

Dobbs-Allsopp and Berlin both appear to read כי הגדיל אויב (the second line in their *c* couplet) as an enjambed dependent *kî* clause. I also identify enjambment here because I read the last line (my 9e) as a complementizer clause. Dobbs-Allsopp's lineation and analysis finds 3 cases of enjambment in verse 9; my lineation finds one.

4.3.2.10 Lamentations 1:10

	Hebrew Text	Dobbs-Allsopp's Analysis	Berlin's Translation
a	יָדוֹ פָּרַשׂ צָר		The foe spread his hand
	עַל כָּל־מַחֲמַדֶּיהָ	Adjunct Enjambment[189]	over all her treasures.
b	כִּי־רָאֲתָה גוֹיִם		Indeed, she has seen the nations
	בָּאוּ מִקְדָּשָׁהּ		enter her temple,
c	אֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתָה		concerning whom you had commanded:
	לֹא־יָבֹאוּ בַקָּהָל לָךְ׃	Quotative Frame Enjambment[190]	"They shall not enter your assembly."

Both Dobbs-Allsopp and Berlin read על כל־מחמדיה as an enjambed adjunct phrase, but according to the syntactic constraints on lineation laid out in chapter 2, the PP adjunct need not be separated from the rest of its clause. Dobbs-Allsopp reads לא־יבאו בקהל לך as enjambed direct speech. I read לא־יבאו בקהל לך as an enjambed relative clause that modifies גוים in 10b: *She saw nations* [*that*] *entered her sanctuary!* (10b), / [*Nations*] *that you commanded may not enter your assembly!* (10c).

Dobbs-Allsopp's and Berlin's analysis yields 2 cases of enjambment in verse 10; my lineation yields only one case of enjambment.

---

[189] Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations," 225.

[190] Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations," 235.

4.3.2.11 Lamentations 1:11b-c

	Hebrew Text	Dobbs-Allsopp's Analysis	Berlin's Translation
b	נָתְנוּ מַחֲמַודֵיהֶם בְּאֹכֶל		they gave their treasures for food
	לְהָשִׁיב נָפֶשׁ	Dependent Clause[191]	to sustain life.
c	רְאֵה יְהוָה וְהַבִּיטָה		Look, LORD, and see
	כִּי הָיִיתִי זוֹלֵלָה׃	*kî* Clause Enjambment[192]	what a beggar I have become.

Dobbs-Allsopp and Berlin both read להשׁיב נפשׁ in their *b* couplet as an enjambed purpose clause, but because I maximize the number of constituents per line, I read their *b* couplet as a single line (11b). Dobbs-Allsopp, Berlin and I all come to the same lineation of the *c* couplet (my 11c, d), and read the last line as enjambed. Dobbs-Allsopp's lineation and analysis yields two cases of enjambment; my lineation and analysis yields one.

[191] Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations," 233.

[192] Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations," 234.

4.3.2.12 Lamentations 1:12

	Hebrew Text	Dobbs-Allsopp's Analysis and Translation	Berlin's Translation
a	לוֹא אֲלֵיכֶם כָּל־עֹבְרֵי דָּרֶךְ	O, all you passersby,[193]	May it not happen to you, all you passersby.
	הַבִּיטוּ וּרְאוּ	See and look![194]	Look, see:
		Verb Enjambment[195]	
b	אִם־יֵשׁ מַכְאוֹב כְּמַכְאֹבִי	Is there any pain like my pain	Is there any pain like my pain,
	אֲשֶׁר עוֹלַל לִי	Which he caused me[196]	Which befell me
		Dependent Relative Clause Enjambment	
c	אֲשֶׁר הוֹגָה יְהוָה		Which the LORD caused me suffer
	בְּיוֹם חֲרוֹן אַפּוֹ׃	Adjunct Enjambment[197]	On the day of his anger?

Dobbs-Allsopp reads the first line of verse 12 as a vocative phrase, and the verbs in the next line as enjambed. By contrast, Berlin and I read the first line of verse 12 as a clause unto itself (although we read the syntax differently, see §4.1.46), with a new clause beginning in the second line. Dobbs-Allsopp, Berlin, and I come to the same lineation of the first four lines of this verse but we differ in the *c* couplet, which I read as one line (my 12e) rather than two.

Dobbs-Allsopp and I both identify three instances of enjambment in verse 12, although we understand the syntax differently. I understand line 12c (the first line of Dobbs-Allsopp's *b*

---

193 Dobbs-Allsopp, *Lamentations,* 72.

194 Dobbs-Allsopp, *Lamentations,* 58.

195 Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations," 228.

196 This translation and analysis is from Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations," 234. In his commentary, Dobbs-Allsopp offers a slightly different translation, explaining, "The language here, 'that which the LORD inflicted,' intentionally echoes the only finite clause in the first half of the poem of which God is the subject: 'because the LORD inflicted [suffering] on her'" (*Lamentations,* 68).

197 This translation and analysis is from Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations," 225.

couplet) as an enjambed complement clause to 12b's ראו (*Look and see* [12b] / *if a pain exists like my pain* [12c]), but Dobbs-Allsopp reads אם־יש מכאוב כמכאבי as an independent clause, and labels the second line of his *a* couplet as "verb enjambment." It is unclear to me how the second line of his *a* couplet could be verbal enjambment given his translation represents it as an independent clause. We both read אשר עולל לי as an enjambed relative clause. I read אשר הוגה יהוה ביום חרון אפו as another enjambed relative clause, but Dobbs-Allsopp does not; instead, he breaks the line and reads ביום חרון אפו as an enjambed adjunct.

4.3.2.13 Lamentations 1:13

	Hebrew Text	**Dobbs-Allsopp's Analysis**	**Berlin's Translation**
b	פָּרַשׂ רֶשֶׁת לְרַגְלָי		He spread a net for my feet,
	הֱשִׁיבַנִי אָחוֹר	Sequential Dependent Clause Enjambment[198]	he held me back.

Dobbs-Allsopp detects enjambment in his *b* couplet, reading the second line of the couplet as an enjambed sequential dependent clause. It appears that Berlin does not, favouring again a paratactic reading. My reading is similar to Berlin's, reading השיבני אחור as additive non-apposition.

[198] Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations," 237.

4.3.2.14 Lamentations 1:14

	Hebrew Text	Dobbs-Allsopp's Analysis	Berlin's Translation
a	נִשְׂקַד עֹל פְּשָׁעַי		My yoke of transgressions was fashioned,
	בְּיָדוֹ יִשְׂתָּרְגוּ	Sequential Dependent Clause Enjambment[199]	with his hand they were entwined,
b	עָלוּ עַל־צַוָּארִי		they mounted upon my neck,
	הִכְשִׁיל כֹּחִי	Sequential Dependent Clause Enjambment[200]	it sapped my strength.
c	נְתָנַנִי יהוה		My LORD gave me into the hands
	בִּידֵי לֹא־אוּכַל קוּם׃	Adjunct Enjambment[201]	of those I cannot withstand.

Dobbs-Allsopp and Berlin both read נשקד על פשעי בידו ישתרגו as two lines; in the Revised and Extended *HVS* Model it is one. Dobbs-Allsopp reads the second line of his *a* couplet as enjambed, which strikes me as odd given that בידו ישתרגו is a complete clause unto itself: *they were fastened together by his hand.* Dobbs-Allsopp also reads the second line of the *b* couplet as enjambment, but this is an independent clause, and therefore not enjambed. Clauses can be sequential without being syntactically dependent.

Dobbs-Allsopp and Berlin break נתנני אדני בידי לא־אוכל קום into two enjambed lines (their *c* couplet). According to the line constraints and the Maximizing Principle of the Revised and Extended *HVS* Model, נתנני אדני בידי לא־אוכל קום can be read as a single (not enjambed) line.

[199] Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations," 237.

[200] Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations," 237.

[201] Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations," 225.

4.3.2.15 Lamentations 1:15

	Hebrew Text	Dobbs-Allsopp's Analysis and Translation	Berlin's Translation
a	סִלָּה כָל־אַבִּירַי	He sacrificed my mighty men[202]	He trampled all my warriors,
	אֲדֹנָי בְּקִרְבִּי	Combination Enjambment[203]	the LORD in my midst.
b	קָרָא עָלַי מוֹעֵד	He called against me a festival	He proclaimed against me a set time
	לְשַׁבֵּר בַּחוּרָי	to decimate my young men	to crush my youths.
		Dependent Clause Enjambment[204]	

Dobbs-Allsopp identifies "combination enjambment" in his *a* couplet, which he explains thus: "Often the *rejet* will contain some combination of adjuncts, subjects, and objects, adding further density to the nature of the syntactic dependency realized by the continuation of the enjambed unit."[205] According to Dobbs-Allsopp's lineation and analysis, both the subject (אדני) and an adjunct PP (בקרבי) are enjambed. A simpler explanation is that there is only one line here to begin with. According to the Revised and Extended *HVS* Model, Dobbs-Allsopp's and Berlin's *a* couplet should be read as a single line, which eliminates the enjambment. The enjambment that is created by Dobbs-Allsopp and Berlin's lineation of their *b* couplet is also eliminated once קרא עלי מועד לשבר בחורי is recognized as a single line.

[202] Dobbs-Allsopp, *Lamentations,* 62.

[203] Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations," 227.

[204] Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations," 227.

[205] Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations," 227.

4.3.2.16 Lamentations 1:16

	Hebrew Text	Dobbs-Allsopp's Analysis	Berlin's Translation
b	כִּי־רָחַק מִמֶּנִּי מְנַחֵם		Far from me is any comforter,
	מֵשִׁיב נַפְשִׁי	Appositional Enjambment[206]	anyone to keep me alive.
c	הָיוּ בָנַי שׁוֹמֵמִים	My children are being destroyed[207]	My children are desolate,
	כִּי גָבַר אוֹיֵב׃	*kî* Clause Enjambment[208]	for the enemy has prevailed.

Dobbs-Allsopp calls the second line of his *b* couplet (my 16d) appositional enjambment. I argued in §4.2.11 that line 16d is a clausal appositive to 16c within the elided VP: (*one*) (*who*) *comforts is far from me,* which is to say, (*one*) (*who*) *restores my soul* [*is far from me*], and therefore I do not read the relationship between the lines as enjambment. Dobbs-Allsopp, Berlin, and I agree that the כי clause in their *c* couplet (my 16e, f) is an enjambed subordinate clause.

[206] Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations," 228.

[207] This translation is from Dobbs-Allsopp, *Lamentations,* 62.

[208] Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations," 234.

4.3.2.17 Lamentations 1:17

	Hebrew Text	Dobbs-Allsopp's Analysis and Translation	Berlin's Translation
a	פָּרְשָׂה צִיּוֹן בְּיָדֶיהָ	Zion spread out her hands	Zion spread out her hands,
	אֵין מְנַחֵם לָהּ	(but) there was no comforter for her	there is no comforter for her.
		Unmarked Dependent Clause Enjambment[209]	
b	צִוָּה יְהוָה לְיַעֲקֹב	Yahweh commanded concerning Jacob	The LORD has commanded for Jacob
	סְבִיבָיו צָרָיו	That his enemies (should be) around him	that those around him are his foes.
		Indirect Quotation Enjambment[210]	
c	הָיְתָה יְרוּשָׁלַ͏ִם		Jerusalem has become
	לְנִדָּה בֵּינֵיהֶם:	Dependent Clause Enjambment[211]	a menstruating woman among them.

Berlin and I read the first two lines of verse 17 paratactically, while Dobbs-Allsopp reads אין מנחם לה as an enjambed unmarked dependent clause. Berlin, Dobbs-Allsopp, and I agree on the lineation of 17c, d (their *b* couplet), although Dobbs-Allsopp follows Hillers by reading סביביו צריו as an indirect quotation, while Berlin and I read סביביו צריו as an enjambed complement clause. Berlin and Dobbs-Allsopp read היתה ירושלם לנדה ביניהם as an enjambed couplet, but the Revised and Extended *HVS* model reads היתה ירושלם לנדה ביניהם as a single line.[212]

---

[209] Dobbs-Allsopp's translation and analysis is in "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations," 236.

[210] Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations," 235.

[211] Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations," 233.

[212] Dobbs-Allsopp admits, "It is debatable whether this represents a form of sentential complementation. But it involves more than just the verb (so it does not represent a form of verbal enjambment, for example), and the strong dependency between the two clauses is obvious. Note also that the syntagma *hyh l-/k-* otherwise always occurs in a single line (1,1b.c.2c.5a.6b.8a.21c; 2,5a; 4,8b.10b; 5,1)" ("The Enjambing Line in Lamentations," p. 233, note 66).

4.3.2.18 Lamentations 1:18

	Hebrew Text	Dobbs-Allsopp's Analysis	Berlin's Translation
a	צַדִּיק הוּא יְהוָה		The LORD is in the right,
	כִּי פִיהוּ מָרִיתִי	*kî* Clause Enjambment[213]	for I have rebelled against his mouth.
b	שִׁמְעוּ־נָא כָל־עָמִּים		Listen well, all you peoples,
	וּרְאוּ מַכְאֹבִי	Conjunctive *waw* Enjambment[214]	and see my pain.

Dobbs-Allsopp, Berlin, and I agree on the lineation of the first two lines of verse 18, and that the כי clause is enjambed. However, Dobbs-Allsopp and Berlin read שמעו־נא כל־עמים וראו מכאבי as two lines, whereas the Revised and Extended *HVS* model reads it as one (and therefore without enjambment).

[213] Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations," 234.

[214] Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations," 235.

4.3.2.19 Lamentations 1:19

	Hebrew Text	Dobbs-Allsopp's Analysis and Translation	Berlin's Translation
a	קָרָאתִי לַמְאַהֲבַי	I called to my lovers,	I called to my lovers,
	הֵמָּה רִמּוּנִי	(But) they deceived me	they deceived me.
		Enjambed Unmarked Dependent Clause[215]	
b	כֹּהֲנַי וּזְקֵנַי	My priests and elders	My priests and elders
	בָּעִיר גָּוָעוּ	die in the city[216]	expired in the city
		Verb Enjambment[217]	
c	כִּי־בִקְשׁוּ אֹכֶל לָמוֹ		as they searched for food
	וְיָשִׁיבוּ אֶת־נַפְשָׁם:	Conjunctive *waw* Enjambment[218]	to sustain their life.

Dobbs-Allsopp reads the second line of verse 19 as an enjambed dependent clause, while Berlin and I read it paratactically. Dobbs-Allsopp and Berlin read כהני וזקני בעיר גועו as a couplet, but there is no compelling syntactic reason to do so; I read כהני וזקני בעיר גועו as a single line (my 19c), and read 19d and e as enjambed dependent clauses. Dobbs-Allsopp reads the final line of verse 19 as "conjunctive *waw* enjambment" while Berlin and I read it as a dependent purpose clause.[219] Dobbs-Allsopp identifies three instances of enjambment in verse 19; I find only two.

---

[215] The analysis and the translation of 19a is from Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations," 236.

[216] The translation of 19b is from Dobbs-Allsopp, *Lamentations,* 62.

[217] Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations," 228.

[218] Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations," 235.

[219] Berlin writes, "Verses 18 and 19 can be seen as containing parallelism in that Jerusalem's rebellion (v. 18) can be understood as her calling to her lovers (v. 19), and the captivity of the maidens and youths (v. 18) has as its counterpart the starvation of the priests and the elders (v. 19)" (*Lamentations,* 59).

4.3.2.20 Lamentations 1:20

	Hebrew Text	Dobbs-Allsopp's Analysis	Berlin's Translation
b	נֶהְפַּךְ לִבִּי בְּקִרְבִּי	My heart turns over within me.[220]	My heart is turned over inside me,
	כִּי מָרוֹ מָרִיתִי	How very bitter am I.	how very bitter I am.
		kî Clause Enjambment[221]	

Dobbs-Allsopp reads the second line of the "*b* couplet" in verse 20 as *kî* clause enjambment. Because I cannot find his translation in print, I am unsure how he interprets the כי. Berlin explains her reading of כי מרו מריתי this way:

> The phrase *kî mārô mārîtî* is generally taken to mean, "for I have indeed rebelled," but the admission of fault is not congruent with the expression of emotion in the rest of the verse. I follow the suggestion of C. L. Seow, "A Textual Note on Lamentations 1:20," *CBQ* 47 (1985): 416-419, that the meaning is "how very bitter I am" from the root *mrr* rather than from the root *mrh/mry,* "to rebel."[222]

I disagree with the idea that the admission of fault is not congruent with the rest of the verse because I think the woman's admission of guilt is congruent with her call on God to look on her affliction. I also think that her admission of guilt is congruent with the other dominant image in the poem, that of Yhwh as disciplinarian. For my part, I read the כי as asseverative, and the line כי מרו מריתי as additive non-apposition.

---

[220] The translation of 20b is from Dobbs-Allsopp, *Lamentations,* 71.

[221] Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations," 234.

[222] Berlin, *Lamentations,* 47.

4.3.2.21 Lamentations 1:21

	Dobbs-Allsopp's Lineation	Dobbs-Allsopp's Analysis and Translation	Berlin's Lineation	Berlin's Translation
b	כָּל־אֹיְבַי שָׁמְעוּ רָעָתִי שָׂשׂוּ		כָּל־אֹיְבַי שָׁמְעוּ רָעָתִי	All my enemies who heard my distress
	כִּי אַתָּה עָשִׂיתָ	*kî* Clause Enjambment[223]	שָׂשׂוּ כִּי אַתָּה עָשִׂיתָ	rejoiced that you had caused it
c	הֵבֵאתָ יוֹם־קָרָאתָ	Bring on the day that you called	הֵבֵאתָ יוֹם־קָרָאתָ	O bring the day you proclaimed,
	וְיִהְיוּ כָמוֹנִי׃	And they will become like me	וְיִהְיוּ כָמוֹנִי׃	and let them be like me.
		Conjunctive *waw* Enjambment[224]		

Berlin and Dobbs-Allsopp diverge in their lineation of verse 21's *b* couplet, with Dobbs-Allsopp leaving שׂשׂו on the first line, and Berlin placing it on the following line. Like Berlin, I place שׂשׂו on the same line as the כי clause, but unlike Berlin, I do not read the line as an unmarked relative clause (*All my enemies* who *heard my distress*), but as an indicative clause: *All my enemies have heard* [*about*] *my calamity*. Berlin and Dobbs-Allsopp understand the two lines of their *b* couplet as enjambed, whereas I read 21d as an intensifying appositive to 21c: *All my enemies have heard* [about] *my calamity,* what's more, *They rejoice that you have done* [this]!

Berlin, Dobbs-Allsopp, and I all agree on the lineation of their *c* couplet. However, Berlin and Dobbs-Allsopp read הבאת as an imperative, whereas I read it as a perfect form,[225] and Dobbs-Allsopp reads 21f as enjambed with 21e, whereas Berlin and I read each as independent lines. I read 21e as an appositive to 20a: *See, O Yhwh, that I have distress* (20a)*,* namely, *You have brought the day* [*that*] *you announced* (21f) (see §4.2.14). I read 21f as additive non-apposition

[223] Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations," 234.

[224] Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations," 235.

[225] The imperative would normally read הָבֵא, and the Leningrad Codex has הֵבֵאתָ (the typical 2 ms Hiphil perfect form) here.

that expresses Zion's desire for God to bring a day of judgment unto her enemies just as God has dealt with her; this request is made more explicit in verse 22.

4.3.2.22 Lamentations 1:22

	Hebrew Text	Dobbs-Allsopp's Analysis	Berlin's Translation
a	תָּבֹא כָל־רָעָתָם לְפָנֶיךָ		Let their evildoing come before you,
	וְעוֹלֵל לָמוֹ	Conjunctive *waw* Enjambment[226]	and do to them
b	כַּאֲשֶׁר עוֹלַלְתָּ לִי		what you did to me
	עַל כָּל־פְּשָׁעָי	Adjunct Enjambment[227]	for all my transgressions.

Dobbs-Allsopp and Berlin agree on the lineation of the first four lines of verse 22. Dobbs-Allsopp reads the second line as enjambed, but it is an independent clause. Sequentiality does not cause enjambment, as Berlin's rendering of the second line demonstrates.

Strangely, Dobbs-Allsopp does not detect enjambment between the second and third lines, even though the third line is syntactically dependent on the second. Both Dobbs-Allsopp and Berlin break כאשר עוללת לי על כל־פשעי into two lines, creating enjambment. The Revised and Extended *HVS* model lineates כאשר עוללת לי על כל־פשעי as one line (22c) without enjambment.

4.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I provided a Syntactic Description of Lamentations 1 and compared it to the Standard Descriptions offered by F.W. Dobbs-Allsopp and Adele Berlin. In §4.1, I provided a lineal analysis of Lamentations 1, showing how the syntactic constraints on lineation outlined in

[226] Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations," 235.

[227] Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Enjambing Line in Lamentations," 225.

chapter 2 apply to the lineation of this poem. In §4.2, I provided interlineal analysis of Lamentations 1, demonstrating how an appositive approach to interlineal dynamics makes sense of the poem. In §4.3, I compared my interlineal analysis to Dobbs-Allsopp's and Berlin's. The study of Lamentations 1 in this chapter yields four major findings.

First, basing lineation on a clear methodology and theory of language is essential to sound interpretation. To accept the lineation of *BHS* without question is to cede significant interpretive ground. The lineation of Lamentations 1 was based on Budde's theory of *qinah* metre, a theory that requires questionable emendations to the text that scholars have viewed with suspicion for decades. Without a clear methodology guiding lineation, any study of enjambment or metre will be suspect. The syntactic approach I have advocated in the last three chapters provides clear criteria by which to lineate poetry and assess enjambment.

Second, in "The Effects of Enjambment in Lamentations," Dobbs-Allsopp writes,

> Even when estimating conservatively, the degree of enjambment in these poems would appear to be uncharacteristically high for biblical Hebrew verse – e.g., easily doubling O'Connor's estimation that only about one-third of the lines in his corpus exhibit enjambment.[228]

Dobbs-Allsopp's study of enjambment covered the first four poems in Lamentations, and of Lamentations 2-4, I am not prepared to make a judgment. However, in Lamentations 1, Dobbs-Allsopp finds 50 cases of enjambment (37% of his 134 lines), whereas I find 19 cases of enjambment (approximately 19% of my 98 lines).[229] A future study of enjambment in chapters 2-4 using a syntactic approach to lineation may find that the book of Lamentations aligns more closely to O'Connor's estimated percentage of enjambed lines than Dobbs-Allsopp's work suggests.

Third, an appositive reading of Lamentations 1 challenges the assumption that this poem is fragmented apart from its acrostic structure. An appositive reading shows that this particular poem develops two main images throughout its 22 verses, and explains the syntactic mechanism by which this image development takes place.

---

[228] Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Effects of Enjambment in Lamentations," 371.

[229] The enjambed lines I have identified are: 6c, 7b, 7d, 8b, 8d, 9e, 10c, 11d, 12c, 12d, 12e, 13b, 16c, 16f, 17d, 18b, 19d, 19e, 22c.

Finally, an appositive reading provides criteria for choosing between otherwise competing interpretive options. In verse 6, Berlin listed possible referents for כל־הדרה, but in the end, deciding which referent was most appropriate was a subjective judgment call. By contrast, an appositive approach allows for syntactic determinations between viable interpretive judgments.[230]

[230] I recognize that poets create fruitful ambiguities, and in some cases, the best interpretive option is to note the tensions that these ambiguities create rather than pin down one option to the exclusion of all others. However, there are other cases in which one reading is intended, and an appositive approach may provide clear criteria for identifying it.

Conclusions and Avenues for Further Research

The end of a matter is better than its beginning;
patience is better than arrogance.
Qohelet 7:8[1]

Qohelet provides a word of warning for any student who has poured significant energy into a project and finds herself thinking she might have contributed something of value to an ongoing scholarly conversation. In this work, I have argued that the time has come to put the Lowthian approach to BH poetry aside, and have offered an approach that I think should replace it.

In the first chapter, I described the traditional approach to BH poetry, which O'Connor called the "Standard Description." I argued that scholars have long found the Standard Description to be a deficient instrument for analyzing poetry, and that this approach has not been replaced because no compelling alternative has been offered.

In the second chapter, I discussed O'Connor's *Hebrew Verse Structure,* which set out an alternative approach to BH poetry that is rooted in its syntax. I argued that the foundation of O'Connor's approach was sound, but it needed revision and extension to account for advancements in generative linguistics and new research into elision and vocatives in BH poetry. I laid out the generative framework for my study and described the Revised and Extended *HVS* model for reading BH poetry. This included revising and streamlining O'Connor's 6 line constraints down to 2.

In chapter 3, I used the Revised and Extended *HVS* Model to analyze 2 Sam 1:19-27, a poem from O'Connor's original corpus. I compared our analyses side-by-side to show the ways in which the Revised and Extended *HVS* Model is rooted in O'Connor's Syntactic Description, but also improves on it by adopting Holmstedt's approach to interlineal analysis.

Analyzing interlineal syntax with an awareness of the appositive style of BH poetry proved particularly fruitful in my reading of Lamentations 1, a poem that many commentators have argued lacks coherence. The Revised and Extended *HVS* Model's approach to interlineal syntax showed that in fact, Lamentations 1's coherence lay in its use of two primary images that are

[1] As translated in Robert D. Holmstedt, John A. Cook, and Phillip S. Marshall, *Qohelet: A Handbook on the Hebrew Text,* Baylor Handbook on the Hebrew Bible (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2017), 202.

developed in every line of the poem. In addition to this, the Revised and Extended *HVS* Model's approach to lineal syntax demonstrated that contrary to the majority scholarly opinion, Lamentations 1 does not have an unusually high preponderance of enjambed lines once a syntactic approach to lineation is applied to it.

This project has revealed several avenues for further research. First, the Revised and Extended *HVS* Model may be used to analyze the rest of the poems in O'Connor's *HVS* corpus to demonstrate the ways our approaches vary. Second, the Revised and Extended *HVS* Model may be used to analyze the rest of the poems in Lamentations in order to determine whether chapters 2-5 are unusual with respect to enjambment. Third, a larger corpus of texts should be analyzed using the Revised and Extended *HVS* Model in order to determine whether resumptive pronouns should be counted as additional constituents in cases of Left Dislocation (§4.1.14). I chose not to count the resumptive pronoun in my analysis of Lamentations 1:4c, but it was the only example of Left Dislocation in my corpus, and further research is needed to determine how resumptive pronouns should be counted in the Revised and Extended *HVS* Model. Finally, it is necessary to test the Revised and Extended *HVS* model against texts that O'Connor did not include in his corpus, eventually including all biblical poetry and then moving to post-biblical poetry to see if the poetic conventions changed in discernible ways. The end of this study is certainly better than its beginning, but more work remains to be done.

Bibliography

Abrams, M. H. *A Glossary of Literary Terms*. 7th edition. Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace College Publishers, 1999.

Alter, Robert. *The Art of Biblical Poetry.* Rev. ed. New York: Basic Books, 2011.

Anderson, A. A. *2 Samuel.* Word Biblical Commentary 11. Dallas: Word Books, 1989.

Ap-Thomas, D. R. "*Hebrew Verse Structure.*" *Journal of Theological Studies* 33 (1982): 224-25.

Auerbach, Erich. *Scenes from the Drama of European Literature: Six Essays.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984.

Auld, A. Graeme. *I & II Samuel: A Commentary.* The Old Testament Library. Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2011.

Berlin, Adele. *"Hebrew Verse Structure." Journal of the Oriental Society* 102.2 (1982): 392-93.

——. *Lamentations.* The Old Testament Library. Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2002.

——. *The Dynamics of Biblical Parallelism.* Rev. ed. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008.

Block, Ned, editor. *Imagery.* Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1981.

Bloomfield, Leonard. *Language.* New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1933.

Boling, Robert. "'Synonymous' Parallelism in the Psalms." *Journal of Semitic Studies* 5.3 (1960): 221-55.

Boulet, Jacques. "A Linguistic Appraisal of the Biblical Hebrew Accusative." PhD diss, University of Toronto, Ontario, 2020.

Brueggemann, Walter. *First and Second Samuel.* Interpretation: A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching. Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1990.

Budde, C. "Das hebräische Klagelied." *ZAW* 2 (1882): 1-52.

Carnie, Andrew. *Constituent Structure.* 2nd edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.

——. *Syntax: A Generative Introduction.* 3rd edition. Walden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013.

Chomsky, Noam. *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax.* 1965. 50th anniversary edition. Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2015.

——. *Cartesian Linguistics: A Chapter in the History of Rationalist Thought.* 1966. 3rd edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

——. "Deep structure, surface structure, and semantic interpretation." In *Studies in general and Oriental linguistics presented to Shirô Hattori on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday.* Edited by R. Jakobson and S. Kawamoto, 52-91. Tokyo: TEK, 1970.

——. *Lectures on Government and Binding.* Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Foris, 1981.

——. *The Logical Structure of Linguistic Theory.* 1955. Manuscript, Harvard University. Published in 1975, New York: Plenum.

——. "Remarks on Nominalization." In *Readings in English Transformational Grammar.* Edited by R. A. Jacobs and P. S. Rosenbaum, 184-221. Waltham, MA: Ginn, 1970.

——. *Syntactic Structures.* The Hague: Mouton, 1957.

Chomsky, Noam and Morris Halle. *The Sound Pattern of English.* New York: Harper & Row, 1968.

Chomsky, Noam and Howard Lasnik. "Filters and Control." *Linguistic Inquiry* Vol 8 No 3 (1977): 425-504.

Collins, Terence. "*Hebrew Verse Structure.*" *Journal of Literary Semantics* 12/2 (1983): 91-96.

——. "Line-Forms in Hebrew Poetry." *Journal of Semitic Studies* 23.2 (1978): 228-44.

——. *Line-Forms in Hebrew Poetry: A Grammatical Approach to the Stylistic Study of the Hebrew Prophets.* Rome: Biblical Institute, 1978.

Cook, John A. "Genericity, Tense, and Verbal Patterns in the Sentence Literature of Proverbs." In *Seeking Out the Wisdom of the Ancients: Essays Offered to Honor Michael V. Fox on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday,* edited by Ronald L. Troxel, Kevil G. Friebel, and Dennis R. Magary, 117-33. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2005.

——. "The Hebrew Participle and Stative in Typological Perspective." *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages* 34/1 (2008): 1-19.

——. *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb: The Expression of Tense, Aspect, and Modality in Biblical Hebrew.* Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic 7. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2012.

——. "The *Vav*-Prefixed Verb Forms in Elementary Hebrew Grammar." *The Journal of Hebrew Scriptures* 8 (2008): 2-16.

Cross Jr., Frank Moore and David Noel Freedman. *Studies in Ancient Yahwistic Poetry.* The Biblical Resource Series. 1950. Reprint, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975.

Cruse, D. A. "Language, Meaning and Sense: Semantics." In *An Encyclopaedia of Language,* edited by N. E. Collinge, 76-93. Abingdon: Taylor & Francis Group, 1990.

Crystal, David. *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics,* 6th ed. Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2008.

Culley, R. C. "Metrical Analysis of Classical Hebrew Poetry." In *Essays on the Ancient Semitic World,* edited by J. W. Wevers and D. B. Redford, 12-28. Toronto: University of Toronto, 1970.

Cushman, Steven, Clare Cavanagh, Jahan Ramazani, and Paul Rouzer, editors. *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics: Fourth edition.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012.

Dahood, Mitchell. *Psalms I: 1-50.* Anchor Bible 16. Garden City: Doubleday, 1965.

——. *Psalms II: 51-100.* Anchor Bible 17. Garden City: Doubleday, 1968.

——. *Psalms III: 101-150.* Anchor Bible 17A. Garden City: Doubleday, 1970.

de Hoop, Raymond. "Lamentations: The Qinah-Metre Questioned," in *Delimitation Criticism: A New Tool in Biblical Scholarship*, ed. M. C. A. Korpel and Joseph Oesch, 80-105. Leiden: Brill, 2000.

de Vries, Mark. "Parenthetical main clauses – or not? On appositives and quasi-relatives." In *Main Clause Phenomena: New Horizons,* edited by L. Aelbrecht, L. Haegeman and R. Nye, 177-201. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2012.

Dobbs-Allsopp, F. W. “Daughter Zion.” In *Thus Says the LORD: Essays on the Former of Latter Prophets in Honor of Robert Wilson,* edited by J. J. Ahn and S. L. Cook, 125-34. London: T & T Clark, 2009.

——. “The Enjambing Line in Lamentations: A Taxonomy (Part 1).” *ZAW* 113: 219-39.

——. “The Effects of Enjambment in Lamentations (Part 2).” *ZAW* 113: 370-95.

——. “Linguistic Evidence for the Date of Lamentations.” *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society* 26 (1998): 1-36.

——. *On Biblical Poetry.* Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2015.

——. “Lamentations.” In *Eerdmans Dictionary of the Bible,* edited by D. N. Freedman, A. B. Beck, and A. C. Myers, 785-87. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000.

——. “Lamentations from Sundry Angles: A Retrospective.” In *Lamentations in Ancient Contemporary Cultural Contexts,* edited by N. Lee and C. Mandolfo, 13-25. Atlanta: SBL, 2008.

——. “Tragedy, Tradition, and Theology in the Book of Lamentations.” *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 74 (1997): 29-60.

——. *Weep, O Daughter of Zion: A Study of the City-Lament Genre in the Hebrew Bible.* BibOr 44. Roma: Editrice Pontificio Instituto Biblico, 1993.

Dobbs-Allsopp, F. W. and T. Linafelt. “The Rape of Zion in Lam 1:10.” *ZAW* 113/1 (2001): 77-81.

Dresher, B. E. “The Prosodic Basis of the Tiberian Hebrew System of Accents.” *Language* 70.1 (March 1994): 1-52.

——.“The Word in Tiberian Hebrew.” In *The Nature of the Word: Studies in Honor of Paul Kiparsky,* 95-111. Edited by Kristin Hanson and Sharon Inkelas. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2008.

Driver, S. R. *Notes on the Hebrew Text and the Topography of the Books of Samuel,* 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press: 1890.

Emerton, John. “*Hebrew Verse Structure.” Vetus Testamentum* 33 (1983): 126-127.

Enghels, Renata. “Extending the notion of near-synonymy: Studies in morphological, syntactic, and pragmatic equivalence.” *Languages in Contrast* 18.1 (2018): 1-5.

Frazer, Ray. “The Origin of the Term 'Image'”. *English Literary History* 27.2 (June 1960): 149-161.

Freedman, David N. “Archaic Forms in Early Hebrew Poetry.” *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 72 no. 2 (1960): 101-107.

——. *Pottery, Poetry, and Prophecy: Studies in Early Hebrew Poetry.* Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1980.

Fukui, Naoki. “Phrase Structure.” In *Handbook of Contemporary Syntactic Theory,* edited by Mark Baltin and Christ Collins, 374-406. Oxford: Blackwell, 2001.

Furbank, P. N. *Reflections on the Word 'Image'.* London: Secker and Warburg, 1970.

Garr, W. Randall. “The Qinah: A Study of Poetic Meter, Syntax, and Style.” *ZAW* 95 (1983): 54-75.

Geller, Stephen A. *Parallelism in Early Biblical Poetry.* Harvard Semitic Monographs 20. Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979.

Gervitz, Stanley. *Patterns in the Early Poetry of Israel.* Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 32. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963.

Gillingham, S. E. *The Poems and Psalms of the Hebrew Bible.* The Oxford Bible Series. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994.

Ginsberg, H. L. “A Ugaritic Parallel to 2 Sam 1:21.” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 57.2 (1938): 209-13.

Good, Edwin M. “*Hebrew Verse Structure.*” *The Journal of the American Academy of Religion* L/1 (1982): 111-12.

Gordis, Robert. “The Biblical Root 'šdy-šd': Notes on 2 Sam. i.21; Jer. xviii.14; Ps. xci.6; Job v.21.” *The Journal of Theological Studies* 41.161 (Jan 1940): 34-43.

Gray, George Buchanan. *The Forms of Hebrew Poetry.* 1915. Reprint, Newark: Ktav, 1972.

Greene, Roland, Stephen Cushman, Clare Cavanagh, Jahan Ramazani, Paul Rouzer, editors. *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*. 4th ed. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012.

Griffith, Sidney H. and Monica J. Blanchard. “*In Memoriam:* Michael Patrick O'Connor.” *CBQ* 70 (2008): 101-102.

Hagstrom, David G. “*Hebrew Verse Structure.*” *Interpretation* 36 (1982): 84-85.

Harris, Zellig. “Cooccurrence and Transformation in Linguistic Structure.” *Language* 33.3 (1957): 283-340.

——. *Methods in Structural Linguistics.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1951.

——. *Papers in Structural and Transformational Linguistics.* Formal Linguistic Series 1. Dordrecht: Reidel, 1970.

Haspelmath, Martin. “Terminology of Case.” In *The Oxford Handbook of Case,* edited by Andrej Malchukov and Andrew Spencer, 505-17. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Hatav, Galia. “The Infinitive Absolute and Topicalization of Events in Biblical Hebrew.” In *Advances in Biblical Hebrew Linguistics: Data, Methods, and Analyses,* edited by Adina Moshavi and Tania Notarius, 207-29. Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic 12. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2017.

Hillers, Delbert R. *Lamentations: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary.* The Anchor Bible 7a. Garden City: Doubleday & Company, 1972.

Hockett, C. F. “Review: *Current Trends in Linguistics,* Vol. 12 by Thomas Sebeok, Arthur S. Abramson, Dell Hymes, Herbert Rubenstein, and Edward Stankiewicz. *Current Anthropology* 18.1 March 1977: 78-82.

Holladay, William. “Form and Word-Play in David's Lament over Saul and Jonathan.” *Vetus Testamentum,* Vol. 20, Fasc. 2 (April 1970): 153-189.

——. “Hebrew Verse Structure Revisited (I): Which Words 'Count'?” *Journal of Biblical Literature* Vol 118, no 1 (1999): 19-32.

——. “Hebrew Verse Structure Revisited (II): Conjoint Cola, and Further Suggestions.” *Journal of Biblical Literature* Vol 118, no 3 (1999): 401-16.

Holmstedt, Robert D. “Critical at the Margins: Edge Constituents in Biblical Hebrew. *KUSATU* 17 (2014): 109-56.

——. “Hebrew Poetry and the Appositive Style: Parallelism, *Requiescat in Pace*.” *Vetus Testamentum* 69 (2019): 617-48.

——. “Parenthesis in Biblical Hebrew as noncoordinative nonsubordination.” *Brill's Journal of Afroasiatic Languages and Linguistics* 12 (2020): 99-118.

——. “Pro-Drop.” In *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics,* edited by Geoffrey Khan. Leiden: Brill, 2013.

——. “The Relative Clause in Biblical Hebrew: A Linguistic Analysis.” PhD diss., University of Wisconsin – Madison, 2002.

——. *The Relative Clause in Biblical Hebrew*. Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic 10. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2016.

——. “The Typological Classifications of the Hebrew of Genesis: Subject-Verb or Verb-Subject?” *Journal of Hebrew Studies* 11/14 (2011): 1-39.

——. “Word Order and Information Structure in Ruth And Jonah: A Generative-Typological Analysis.” *Journal of Semitic Studies* 54 (2009): 111-39.

——. “Word Order in the Book of Proverbs.” In *Seeking Out the Wisdom of the Ancients: Essays Offered to Honor Michael V. Fox on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday,* edited by Ronald Troxel, Kevin Friebel, and Dennis Magary, 135-54. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2005.

Holmstedt, Robert D., John A. Cook, and Phillip S. Marshall. *Qohelet: A Handbook on the Hebrew Text.* Baylor Handbook on the Hebrew Bible. Waco: Baylor University Press, 2017.

Holmstedt, Robert D. and B. Elan Dresher. “Clitics: Pre-Modern Hebrew.” In *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics,* edited by Geoffrey Khan. Leiden: Brill, 2013.

Holmstedt, Robert D. and Andrew Jones. “Apposition in Biblical Hebrew: Structure and Function.” *KUSATU* 22 (2017): 21-51.

Huddleston, Rodney, and Geoffrey K. Pullum. *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language.* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Jackendoff, Ray. *Some Rules of Semantic Interpretation for English.* PhD diss., MIT: 1969.

——. *X-Bar Syntax: A Study of Phrase Structure.* Linguistic Inquiry Monographs 2. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1977.

Jakobson, Roman. “Linguistics and Poetics.” In *Essays on the Language of Literature,* edited by Seymour Chatman and Samuel R. Levin, 296-322. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1967.

Kautzsch, Emil. *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar.* Translated by A. E. Cowley. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910.

Kleven, Terence. "Reading Hebrew Poetry: David's Lament over Saul and Jonathan (2 Sam 1:17-27." *Proceedings: Eastern Great Lakes and Midwest Biblical Societies* 11 (1991): 51-65.

Kosmala, Hans. "Form and Structure in Ancient Hebrew Poetry (A New Approach)." *Vetus Testamentum* 14 no 4 (Oct 1964): 423-45.

——. "Form and Structure in Ancient Hebrew Poetry." *Vetus Testamentum* 16 no 2 (Apr 1966): 152-80.

Kugel, James L. *The Idea of Biblical Poetry: Parallelism and Its History.* Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1981.

Landy, Francis. "Poetics and Parallelism: Some Comments on James Kugel's *The Idea of Biblical Poetry.*" *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 28 (1984): 61-87.

Lasnik, Howard and Terje Lohndal. "Brief overview of the history of generative syntax." In *The Cambridge Handbook of Generative Syntax.* Edited by M. den Dikken, 26-60. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

——. "Government-binding/principles and parameters theory." *WIREs Cognitive Science* 1 (2010): 40-50.

——. "Noam Chomsky." In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia, Linguistics.* Edited by Mark Aronoff. Online publication date Aug 2017. DOI: 10.1093/acrefore/9780199384655.013.356

Legouis, Pierre. "Definitions and Caveats." In *Seventeenth-Century Imagery: Essays on Uses of Figurative Language from Donne to Faquhar,* edited by Earl Miner, 187-97. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Lotz, J. "Elements of Versification." In *Versification: Major Language Types,* edited by W. K. Wimsatt, 1-21. New York: Modern Language Association/New York University Press, 1972.

Long, V. Philips. *1 and 2 Samuel: An Introduction and Commentary.* Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries 8. Downers Grove: IVP Academic, 2020.

Lowth, Robert. *De Sacra Poesi Hebraeorum Praelectiones Academicae Oxonii Habitae.* London: Clarendon, 1753.

——. *Isaiah. A New Translation; with a Preliminary Dissertation, and Notes.* London: J. Nichols, 1778.

——. *Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews.* 2 vols. Translated by G. Gregory. London: J. Johnson, 1787.

McCarter, Jr., P. Kyle. *II Samuel: A New Translation with Introduction, Notes and Commentary.* The Anchor Bible. New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1984.

McCawley, James D. *The Syntactic Phenomena of English.* 2 vols. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1988.

Melamed, M. H. "Break-Up of Stereotype Phrases as an Artistic Device in Biblical Poetry." In *Studies in the Bible,* edited by Chaim Rabin, 115-44. Scripta Hierosolymitana Vol 8. Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1961.

Miller, Cynthia. “Constraints on Ellipsis in Biblical Hebrew.” In *Studies in Comparative Semitic and Afroasiatic Linguistics Presented to Gene B. Gragg,* edited by Cynthia Miller, 165-80. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2007.

——. “Definiteness and the Vocative in Biblical Hebrew.” *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages* 36/1 (2010): 43-64.

——. “Ellipsis.” In *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics,* edited by Geoffrey Khan. Leiden: Brill, 2013.

——. “Ellipsis Involving Negation in Biblical Poetry.” In *Seeking Out the Wisdom of the Ancients: Essays Offered to Honour Michael V. Fox on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday,* edited by Ronald L. Troxel, Kelvin G. Friebel, and Dennis R. Magary, 37-52. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2005.

—— .“A Linguistic Approach to Ellipsis in Biblical Poetry (Or, What to Do When Exegesis of What Is There Depends on What Isn't).” *Bulletin for Biblical Research* 13:2 (2003): 251-70.

——. “The Relation of Coordination to Verb Gapping in Biblical Poetry.” *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 32.1 (2007): 41-60.

——. “A Reconsideration of 'Double-Duty' Prepositions in Biblical Poetry.” *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society* 2008 (31): 99-110.

——. “Vocative Syntax in Biblical Hebrew Prose and Poetry: A Preliminary Analysis.” *Journal of Semitic Studies* LV/2 (Autumn 2010): 347-64.

Miller-Naudé, Cynthia. “Exploring the Limits of Ambiguity in Biblical Poetry: Interpreting Elliptical Structure.” *Journal for Semitics* 20/2 (2011): 323-52.

Mitchell, W. J. T. *Iconology: Image, Text, Ideology.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1986.

Mitchell, W. J. T. and B. Glavey. “Image.” In *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics: Fourth edition,* edited by Steven Cushman, Clare Cavanagh, Jahan Ramazani, and Paul Rouzer, 660-62. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012.

Morrison, Craig E. *2 Samuel.* Berit Olam: Studies in Hebrew Narrative and Poetry. Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2013.

O'Connor, M. *Hebrew Verse Structure.* 1980. Reprint, Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1997.

——. “Parallelism.” In *The New Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics,* ed. Alex Preminger, and T. V. F. Brogan, 877-79. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.

O'Connor, M. and Edward L. Greenstein. “Parallelism.” In *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics,* 4th ed. Edited by Roland Greene. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012.

Parry, Robin A. *Lamentations.* The Two Horizons Old Testament Commentary. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010.

Payne, J. R. “Negation.” In *Language Typology and Syntactic Description. Vol. I: Clause Structure,* 197-242. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

Petersen, David L., Kent Harold Richards. *Interpreting Hebrew Poetry.* Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992.

Pham, Xuan Huong Thi. *Mourning in the Ancient Near East and the Hebrew Bible.* JSOTSup 302. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999.

Polzin, Robert. *David and the Deuteronomist: 2 Samuel.* A Literary Study of the Deuteronomistic History, Part 3. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993.

Provan, Iain. *Lamentations: A Commentary.* 1991. Reprint, Vancouver: Regent College Publishing, 2016.

Quirk, Randolph, Sidney Greenbaum, Geoffrey Leech, Jan Svartvik. *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language.* London: Longman, 1985.

Radford, Andrew. *Syntactic Theory and the Structure of English: A minimalist approach.* Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Salters, R. B. *Lamentations.* The International Critical Commentary. London: T & T Clark, 2010.

Stuart, Douglas K. *Studies in Early Hebrew Meter.* Harvard Semitic Monograph Series. Missoula: Scholars Press, 1976.

Thomas, Margaret. "American Structuralism." In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia, Linguistics.* Edited by Mark Aronoff. Online Publication Date Mar 2019. DOI:10.1093/acrefore/9780199384655.013.400

Tsumura, David Toshio. *The Second Book of Samuel.* The New International Commentary on the Old Testament. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2019.

Waltke, Bruce K., and M. O'Connor. *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax.* Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990.

Watson, Wilfred G. E. *Classical Hebrew Poetry: A Guide to its Techniques.* Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 26. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1986.

——. *Traditional Techniques in Classical Hebrew Verse.* Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 170. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994.

Wright, Christopher J. H. *The Message of Lamentations.* The Bible Speaks Today. Downers Grove: IVP Academic, 2015.

Zanuttini, Raffaella. "Sentential Negation." In *The Handbook of Contemporary Syntactic Theory,* edited by Mark Baltin and Chris Collins, 511-535. Malden: Blackwell Publishers, 2001.

Zwicky, Arnold. *On Clitics.* Bloomington: Indiana University Linguistics Club, 1977.

Appendix A
A Comparison of Line Analyses of 2 Sam 1:19-27

O'Connor's analysis is on the left; my analysis is on the right.

הַצְּבִי יִשְׂרָאֵל עַל־בָּמוֹתֶיךָ חָלָל				19a
haṣṣəbî yiśrāʾēl ʿal-bāmôtêkā ḥālāl UNIT1 UNIT2 UNIT 3 UNIT 4 C1 C2 C3 C4	Translit Word level Const Level Synt Role	*haṣṣəbî yiśrāʾēl ʿal bāmôtêkā ḥālāl* PW1 PW2 PW3 PW4 C1 – C2 C3 S VOC AD [V] COMP	Translit Word level Const Level Synt Role	
The Gazelle, Israel, was pierced on your heights.	Trans	The beauty, O Israel, upon your high places is a slain thing!	Trans	
3.4.20 Double clause line of four constituents	Line Type	*Single clause line of 3C, 4PW*	Line Type	
אֵיךְ נָפְלוּ גִבּוֹרִים׃				19b
ʾêk-nāpəlû gibbôrîm UNIT1 UNIT2 C1 C2	Translit Word level Const Level Synt Role	*ʾêk nāpəlû gibbôrîm* PW1 PW2 PW3 – C1 C2 EXCL V S	Translit Word level Const Level Synt Role	
The warriors have fallen.	Trans	[The] warriors have fallen!	Trans	
3.3.2 Single independent verbal clause line of two constituents. VS	Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 2C, 3PW*	Line Type	
אַל־תַּגִּידוּ בְגַת				20a
ʾal-taggîdû bəgat UNIT1 UNIT2 C1 C2	Translit Word level Const Level Synt Role	*ʾal taggîdû bəgat* PW1 PW2 C1 C2 NEG+V AD	Translit Word level Const Level Synt Role	
Do not say so in Gath-Ashqelon	Trans	Do not declare [it] in Gath;	Trans	
3.3.4 Single independent verbal clause line of two constituents. VP	Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 2C, 2PW*	Line Type	
אַל־תְּבַשְּׂרוּ בְּחוּצֹת אַשְׁקְלוֹן				20b
ʾal-təbaśśərû bəḥûṣōt–ʾašqəlôn UNIT1 UNIT2 UNIT3 C1 C2	Translit Word level Const Level Synt Role	*ʾal təbaśśərû bəḥûṣōt ʾašqəlôn* PW1 PW2 C1 C2 NEG+V AD	Translit Word level Const Level Synt Role	
Do not give out the news in Gath-Ashqelon's streets	Trans	Do not announce [it] on the streets of Ashkelon	Trans	
3.3.4 Single independent verbal clause line of two constituents. VP	Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 2C, 2PW*	Line Type	

פֶּן־תִּשְׂמַחְנָהּ בְּנוֹת פְּלִשְׁתִּים			20c
pen–tiśmaḥnâ *bənôt–pəlištîm* UNIT 1 UNIT2 UNIT3 C1 C2	Translit	*pen tiśmaḥnâ* *bənôt pəlištîm* PW1 PW2 C1 C2 NEG+V S	Translit
	Word level		Word level
	Const Level		Const Level
	Synt Role		Synt Role
Lest pagan Philistine women rejoice,	Trans	Lest the Philistine daughters rejoice;	Trans
3.3.22 Single dependent verbal clause line of two constituents; Finite clauses, purpose, exceptive and conditional clauses.	Line Type	*Single dependent verbal clause line of 2C, 2PW; negative result clause*	Line Type
פֶּן־תַּעֲלֹזְנָה בְּנוֹת הָעֲרֵלִים׃			20d
pen–ta'ălōznâ *bənôt–hā'ărēlîm* UNIT1 UNIT2 UNIT3 C1 C2	Translit	*pen ta'ălōznâ* *bənôt hā'ărēlîm* PW1 PW2 C1 C2 NEG+V S	Translit
	Word level		Word level
	Const Level		Const Level
	Synt Role		Synt Role
Lest pagan Philistine women exult.	Trans	Lest the daughters of the uncircumcised exult.	Trans
3.3.22 Single dependent verbal clause line of two constituents; Finite, purpose, exceptive & conditional clauses.	Line Type	*Single dependent verbal clause line of 2C, 2PW; negative result clause*	Line Type
הָרֵי בַגִּלְבֹּעַ אַל־טָל			21a
hārê *baggilbōaʿ* *ʾal-ṭal* UNIT1 UNIT2 UNIT3 C1 C2 C3	Translit	*hārê baggilbōaʿ* *ʾal ṭal* PW1 PW2 – C1 C2 VOC NEG+[V] COMP	Translit
	Word level		Word level
	Const Level		Const Level
	Synt Role		Synt Role
Hills, no dew in Gilboa	Trans	Hills in Gilboa, [let there be] no dew [on you]!	Trans
3.4.9 Double clause line of three constituents. Independent null copula clauses with vocatives.	Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause lines of 2C, 2PW*	Line Type
וְאַל־מָטָר עֲלֵיכֶם וּשְׂדֵי תְרוּמֹת			21b
wəʾal-māṭār ʿălêkem ûśədê–tərûmōt UNIT1 UNIT2 UNIT3 UNIT4 C1 C2 C3	Translit	*wəʾal māṭār ʿălêkem ûśədê tərûmōt* PW1 PW2 PW3 PW4 C1 C2 C3 NEG+[V] COMP AD	Translit
	Word level		Word level
	Const Level		Const Level
	Synt Role		Synt Role
No rain on you, lofty fields	Trans	[Let there be] no rain upon you, lofty fields!	Trans
3.4.9 Double clause line of three constituents. Independent verbless clauses with vocatives	Line Type	*Single clause line of 3C, 4PW*	Line Type

כִּי שָׁם נִגְעַל מָגֵן גִּבּוֹרִים							21c
kî-šām	*nigʿal*	*māgēn–gibbôrîm*	Translit	*kî*	*šām*	*nigʿal*	*māgēn gibbôrîm*	Translit
UNIT1	UNIT2	UNIT3 UNIT4	Word level	PW1	PW2	PW3	PW4	Word level
C1	C2	C3	Const Level	–	C1	C2	C3	Const Level
			Synt Role	SUBORD PART	AD	V	S	Synt Role
There the warriors' leader was disgraced			Trans	Because there lies rejected the shield of warriors				Trans
3.3.45 Single independent verbal clause line of three constituents. AVS			Line Type	*Single dependent verbal clause line of 2C, 4PW*				Line Type

מָגֵן שָׁאוּל בְּלִי מָשִׁיחַ בַּשָּׁמֶן:								21d
māgēn–šāʾûl	*bəlî–mišîaḥ*	*baššāmen*	Translit	*māgēn šāʾûl*	*bəlî*	*māšîaḥ*	*baššāmen*	Translit
UNIT1 UNIT2	UNIT3 UNIT4	UNIT5	Word level	PW1		PW2 PW3	PW4	Word level
C1	C2	C3	Const Level	C1		C2	C3	Const Level
			Synt Role	S	[V]	COMP	AD	Synt Role
Leader Saul was anointed with oil			Trans	The shield of Saul is without anointing with oil.				Trans
3.3.68 Single null copula clause line of three constituents. Predicate of two constituents.			Line Type	*Single dependent verbal clause line of 3C, 4PW; finite causal clause*				Line Type

מִדָּם חֲלָלִים	22a	מִדַּם חֲלָלִים מֵחֵלֶב גִּבּוֹרִים	22a
middam–ḥălālîm	Translit	*middam ḥălālîm* *mēḥēleb gibbôrîm*	Translit
UNIT1 UNIT2	Word level	PW1 PW2	Word level
C1	Const Level	C1	Const Level
	Synt Role	COMP (of נָשׂוֹג in the next line)	Synt Role
From the blood of wounded warriors,	Trans	From the blood of the slain, from the fat of warriors	Trans
3.5.5 One constituent phrase line	Line Type	*Phrase line of 1C, 2PW*	Line Type

מֵחֵלֶב גִּבּוֹרִים	22b		
mēḥēleb–gibbôrîm	Translit		
UNIT1 UNIT2	Word level		
C1	Const Level		
From the flesh of wounded warriors,	Trans		
3.5.5 One constituent phrase line	Line Type		

קֶשֶׁת יְהֹונָתָן לֹא נָשׁוֹג אָחֹור	22c	קֶשֶׁת יְהֹונָתָן לֹא נָשׁוֹג אָחֹור	22b
qešet–yəhônātān *lōʾ–nāśôg* *ʾāḥôr* UNIT1 UNIT2 UNIT3 UNIT4 C1 C2 C3	Translit Word level Const Level Synt Role	*qešet yəhônātān* *lōʾ nāśôg* *ʾāḥôr* PW1 PW2 PW3 C1 C2 C3 S NEG + V AD	Translit Word level Const Level Synt Role
Jonathan-Saul's bow did not turn back, *3.3.42 Single independent verbal clause line of three constituents. SVA*	Trans Line Type	The bow of Jonathan did not turn back; *Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 3PW*	Trans Line Type
וְחֶרֶב שָׁאוּל לֹא תָשׁוּב רֵיקָם:	22d	וְחֶרֶב שָׁאוּל לֹא תָשׁוּב רֵיקָם:	22c
wəḥereb–šāʾûl *lōʾ–tāšûb* *rêqām* UNIT1 UNIT2 UNIT3 UNIT4 C1 C2 C3	Translit Word level Const Level Synt Role	*wəḥereb šāʾûl* *lōʾ tāšûb* *rêqām* PW1 PW2 PW3 C1 C2 C3 S NEG+V AD	Translit Word level Const Level Synt Role
Jonathan-Saul's sword was not set up clean. *3.3.42 Single independent verbal clause line of three constituents. SVA*	Trans Line Type	The sword of Saul did not return empty. *Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 3PW*	Trans Line Type
שָׁאוּל וִיהֹונָתָן הַנֶּאֱהָבִים וְהַנְּעִימִם	23a		
šāʾûl–wîhônātān *hanneʾĕhābîm–wəhannəʿîmim* UNIT1 UNIT2 UNIT3 UNIT4 C1 C2	Translit Word level Const Level Synt Role	*šāʾûl wîhônātān* *hanneʾĕhābîm wəhannəʿîmi* PW1 PW2 PW3 PW4 C1 C2 S [V] COMP	Translit Word level Const Level Synt Role
Saul and Jonathan were loved and lovely *3.3.24 Single null copula line of two constituents. Predicate-Subject*	Trans Line Type	Saul and Jonathan were beloved and pleasant *Single null copula line of 2C, 4PW*	Trans Line Type
בְּחַיֵּיהֶם וּבְמוֹתָם לֹא נִפְרָדוּ	23b		
bəḥayyêhem–ûbəmôtām *lōʾ-niprādû* UNIT1 UNIT2 UNIT3 C1 C2	Translit Word level Const Level Synt Role	*bəḥayyêhem ûbəmôtām* *lōʾ niprādû* PW1 PW2 PW3 C1 C2 AD NEG+V	Translit Word level Const Level Synt Role
In their lives and deaths they were not divided. *3.3.8 Single independent verbal clause line of two constituents. PV*	Trans Line Type	In their lives and in their deaths they were not divided. *Single independent verbal clause line of 2C, 3PW*	Trans Line Type
מִנְּשָׁרִים קַלּוּ	23c	מִנְּשָׁרִים קַלּוּ מֵאֲרָיוֹת גָּבֵרוּ:	23c
minnəšārîm *qallû* UNIT1 UNIT2 C1 C2	Translit Word level Const Level	*minnəšārîm* *qallû* *mēʾărāyôt* *gābērû* PW1 PW2 PW3 PW4 C1 C2 C3 C4 AD V AD V COMPAR מן PHRASE COMPAR מן PHRASE	Translit Word level Const Level Synt Role

They were faster than eagles *3.3.8 Single independent verbal clause line of two constituents. PV*	Trans Line Type	They were swifter than eagles, they were stronger than lions. *Double clause line of 4C, 4PW*	Trans Line Type
מֵאַרְיוֹת גָּבֵרוּ׃	23d		
mēʾărāyôt *gābērû* UNIT1 UNIT2 C1 C2 They were stronger than lions 3.3.8 *Single independent verbal clause line of two constituents. PV*	Translit Word level Const Level Trans Line Type		
בְּנוֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶל־שָׁאוּל בְּכֶינָה			24a
bənôt–yiśrāʾēl *ʾel-šāʾûl* *bəkênâ* UNIT1 UNIT2 UNIT3 UNIT4 C1 C2 C3 Israelite women, weep for Saul *3.4.6 Double clause lines of three constituents. Independent verbal clauses with vocatives.*	Translit Word level Const Level Synt Role Trans Line Type	*bənôt yiśrāʾēl* *ʾel šāʾûl* *bəkênâ* PW1 PW2 PW3 – C1 C2 VOC AD V Daughters of Israel, weep over Saul *Single independent verbal clause line of 2C, 3PW*	Translit Word level Const Level Synt Role Trans Line Type
הַמַּלְבִּשְׁכֶם שָׁנִי עִם־עֲדָנִים			24b
hammalbiškem *šānî* *ʿim-ʿădānîm* UNIT1 UNIT2 UNIT3 C1 C2 C3 Who dressed you in scarlet with woven jewelry, *3.3.63 Single dependent verbal clause lines of three constituents. Nonfinite clauses, participial clauses.*	Translit Word level Const Level Trans Line Type	*hammalbiškem* *šānî* *ʿim ʿădānîm* PW1 PW2 PW3 C1 C2 C3 V + ATTPROCOMP AD Who clothed you [in] scarlet [cloth] with jewels, *Single dependent verbal clause lines of 3C, 3PW*	Translit Word level Const Level Synt Role Trans Line Type
הַמַּעֲלֶה עֲדִי זָהָב עַל לְבוּשֵׁכֶן׃			24c
hammaʿălê *ʿădî–zāhāb* *ʿal–ləbûšəken* UNIT1 UNIT2 UNIT3 UNIT4 C1 C2 C3 Who set gold woven jewelry on your dresses *3.3.63 Single dependent verbal clause lines of three constituents. Nonfinite clauses, participial clauses.*	Translit Word level Const Level Synt Role Trans Line Type	*hammaʿălê* *ʿădî zāhāb* *ʿal ləbûšəken* PW1 PW2 PW3 C1 C2 C3 V COMP AD Who placed ornaments of gold (collective s) upon your clothes *Single dependent verbal clause lines of 3C, 3PW*	Translit Word level Const Level Synt Role Trans Line Type

אֵיךְ נָפְלוּ גִבֹּרִים בְּתוֹךְ הַמִּלְחָמָה			25a
’êk–nāpəlû gibbôrîm bətôk–hammilḥāmâ UNIT1 UNIT2 UNIT3 UNIT4 C1 C2 C3 The warriors have fallen in war. *3.3.28 Single independent verbal clause line of three constituents. VSP*	Translit Word level Const Level Synt Role Trans Line Type	*’êk nāpəlû gibbôrîm bətôk hammilḥāmâ* PW1 PW2 PW3 PW4 – C1 C2 C3 EXCL V S AD The mighty have fallen in the midst of battle! *Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 4PW*	Translit Word level Const Level Synt Role Trans Line Type
יְהֹונָתָן עַל־בָּמוֹתֶיךָ חָלָל:			25b
yəhônātān ʿal-bāmôtêkâ ḥālāl UNIT1 UNIT2 UNIT3 C1 C2 C3 Jonathan was pierced on your heights *3.3.54 Single independent verbal clause lines of three constituents. SPV*	Translit Word level Const Level Synt Role Trans Line Type	*yəhônātān ʿal bāmôtêkā ḥālāl* PW1 PW2 PW3 C1 C2 C3 S AD [V] COMP Jonathan [is] a slain one upon your high places *Single null copula clause line of 3C, 3PW*	Translit Word level Const Level Synt Role Trans Line Type
צַר־לִי עָלֶיךָ אָחִי			26a
ṣar lî ʿālêkā ʾāḥî UNIT1 UNIT2 UNIT3 UNIT4 C1 C2 C3 C4 It is hard for me because of you, my Brother Jonathan *3.4.20 Double clause line of four constituents*	Translit Word level Const Level Synt Role Trans Line Type	*ṣar [ ] lî ālêkā ʾāḥî* PW1 PW2 PW3 PW4 C1 C2 C3 – S [V] COMP AD VOC I have grief because of you, my brother *Single null copula clause line of 3C, 4PW*	Translit Word level Const Level Synt Role Trans Line Type
יְהֹונָתָן נָעַמְתָּ לִי מְאֹד			26b
yəhônātān nāʿamtā lî məʾōd UNIT1 UNIT2 UNIT3 UNIT4 C1 C2 C3 C4 My Brother Jonathan, you were very good for me	Translit Word level Const Level Synt Role Trans Line Type	*yəhônātān nāʿamtā lî məʾōd* PW1 PW2 PW3 PW4 – C1 C2 C3 VOC V AD AD Jonathan, you were very pleasant to me	Translit Word level Const Level Synt Role Trans Line Type
נִפְלְאַתָה ... נפלא אתה	26c	נִפְלְאַתָה אַהֲבָתְךָ לִי מֵאַהֲבַת נָשִׁים:	26c
niplāʾ ʾattâ UNIT1 UNIT2 C1 C2 You were a wonder	Translit Word level Const Level Synt Role Trans	*nipləʾatâ ʾahăbātkā lî mēʾahăbat nāšîm* PW1 PW2 PW3 PW4 C1 C2 C3 C4 V S AD AD COMPAR מן PHRASE Your love was more wonderful to me than the love of women	Translit Word level Const Level Synt Role Trans

3.3.25 Single null copula clause line of two constituents. Predicate-Subject	Line Type	*Single clause line of 4C, 4PW*	Line Type
אַהֲבָתְךְ לִי	26d		
ʾahăbātkā lî UNIT1 UNIT2 C1 C2 Your love was mine 3.3.24 *Single null copula clause line of two constituents. Subject-Predicate.*	Translit Word level Const Level Trans Line Type		
מֵאַהֲבַת נָשִׁים ... מ אהבת נשים	26e		
Mâ ʾahăbat–nāšîm UNIT1 UNIT2 UNIT3 C1 C2 What is the love of women? 3.3.25 *Single null copula clause of two constituents. Predicate-Subject*	Translit Word level Const Level Trans Line Type		
אֵיךְ נָפְלוּ גִבּוֹרִים			27a
ʾêk-nāpəlû gibbôrîm UNIT1 UNIT2 C1 C2 V S The warriors have fallen. *3.3.2 Single independent verbal clause line of two constituents. VS*	Translit Word level Const Level Synt Role Trans Line Type	*ʾêk nāpəlû gibbôrîm* PW1 PW2 PW3 – C1 C2 EXCL V S [The] mighty have fallen! *Single independent verbal clause line of 2C, 3PW*	Translit Word level Const Level Synt Role Trans Line Type
וַיֹּאבְדוּ כְּלֵי מִלְחָמָה:			27b
wayyōʾbədû kəlê–milhāmâ UNIT1 UNIT2 UNIT3 C1 C2 The instruments of war have vanished *3.3.2 Single independent verbal clause line of two constituents. VS*	Translit Word level Const Level Synt Role Trans Line Type	*wayyōʾbədû kəlê milhāmâ* PW1 PW2 C1 C2 V S The weapons of war are destroyed. *Single independent verbal clause line of 2C, 3PW*	Translit Word level Const Level Synt Role Trans Line Type

Appendix B
Interlineal Syntactic Analysis of 2 Samuel 1:19-27

19a	הַצְּבִי יִשְׂרָאֵל עַל־בָּמוֹתֶיךָ חָלָל	**Non-Apposition – Image 1:** Proclamation of Saul and Jonathan's deaths to Israel
	The beauty, O Israel, upon your high places is a slain thing! *Single clause line of 3C, 4PW*	
19b	אֵיךְ נָפְלוּ גִבּוֹרִים׃	**Apposition –** Reformulation of 19a
	[The] warriors have fallen! *Single independent verbal clause line of 2C, 3 PW*	
20a	אַל־תַּגִּידוּ בְגַת	**Non-Apposition – Image 1':** The prohibition of the proclamation of Saul and Jonathan's deaths to the Philistines
	Do not declare [it] in Gath; *Single independent verbal clause line of 2C, 2PW*	
20b	אַל־תְּבַשְּׂרוּ בְּחוּצֹת אַשְׁקְלוֹן	**Apposition –** Reformulation of 20a
	Do not announce [it] on the streets of Ashkelon *Single independent verbal clause line of 2C, 2PW*	
20c	פֶּן־תִּשְׂמַחְנָה בְּנוֹת פְּלִשְׁתִּים	**Non Apposition –** Enjambment; **Image 1':** Continued prohibition of the proclamation of Saul and Jonathan's deaths to the Philistines
	Lest the Philistine daughters rejoice; *Single dependent verbal clause line of 2C, 2PW; negative result clause.*	
20d	פֶּן־תַּעֲלֹזְנָה בְּנוֹת הָעֲרֵלִים׃	**Apposition –** Intensifying attribution of 20c
	Lest the daughters of the uncircumcised exult. *Single dependent verbal clause line of 2C, 2PW; negative result clause*	

21a	הָרֵי בַגִּלְבֹּעַ אַל־טַל	**Non-Apposition** **Image 2:** David addresses the hills
	Hills in Gilboa, [let there be] no dew [on you]! *Single independent verbal clause lines of 2C, 2PW*	
21b	וְאַל־מָטָר עֲלֵיכֶם וּשְׂדֵי תְרוּמֹת	**Apposition** – Reformulation of 21a
	[Let there be] no rain upon you, lofty fields! *Single clause line of 3C, 4PW*	
21c	כִּי שָׁם נִגְעַל מָגֵן גִּבּוֹרִים	**Non-Apposition** – Enjambment
	Because there lies rejected the shield of warriors *Single dependent verbal clause line of 3C, 4PW; finite causal clause.*	
21d	מָגֵן שָׁאוּל בְּלִי מָשִׁיחַ בַּשָּׁמֶן׃	**Apposition** – Reformulation of 21c
	The shield of Saul is without anointing with oil. *Single dependent verbal clause line of 3C, 4PW; finite causal clause*	
22a	מִדַּם חֲלָלִים מֵחֵלֶב גִּבּוֹרִים	**Non-Apposition** – Enjambment
	From the blood of the slain, from the fat of warriors *Phrase line of 1C, 2PW*	
22b	קֶשֶׁת יְהוֹנָתָן לֹא נָשׁוֹג אָחוֹר	**Non-Apposition** – Main Clause for 22a **Image 3:** Living Soldier
	The bow of Jonathan did not turn back; *Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 3PW*	
22c	וְחֶרֶב שָׁאוּל לֹא תָשׁוּב רֵיקָם׃	**Apposition –** Intensifying attribution to 22b
	The sword of Saul did not return empty. *Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 3PW*	

23a	שָׁאוּל וְיהוֹנָתָן הַנֶּאֱהָבִים וְהַנְּעִימִם	**Non-Apposition** **Image 3':** Saul and Jonathan as a pair
	Saul and Jonathan were beloved and pleasant *Single null copula line of 2C, 4PW*	
23b	בְּחַיֵּיהֶם וּבְמוֹתָם לֹא נִפְרָדוּ	**Additive Non-Apposition**
	In their lives and in their deaths they were not divided. *Single independent verbal clause line of 2C, 3PW*	
23c	מִנְּשָׁרִים קַלּוּ מֵאֲרָיוֹת גָּבֵרוּ׃	**Apposition** – Exemplification of 23a
	They were swifter than eagles, they were stronger than lions. *Double clause line of 4C, 4PW*	
24a	בְּנוֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶל־שָׁאוּל בְּכֶינָה	**Non-Apposition** **Image 1'':** Israelite women react to the proclamation of Saul and Jonathan's deaths
	Daughters of Israel, weep over Saul *Single independent verbal clause line of 2C, 3PW*	
24b	הַמַּלְבִּשְׁכֶם שָׁנִי עִם־עֲדָנִים	**Non-Apposition** – Enjambment
	Who clothed you [in] scarlet [cloth] with jewels, *Single dependent verbal clause lines of 3C, 3PW*	
24c	הַמַּעֲלֶה עֲדִי זָהָב עַל לְבוּשְׁכֶן׃	**Non-Apposition** – Enjambment
	Who placed ornaments of gold (collective s) upon your clothes *Single dependent verbal clause lines of 3C, 3PW*	
25a	אֵיךְ נָפְלוּ גִבֹּרִים בְּתוֹךְ הַמִּלְחָמָה	**Non-Apposition – Resumption of Image 1'':** Proclamation of Saul and Jonathan's deaths (cf 19b)
	The mighty have fallen in the midst of battle! *Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 4PW*	

25b	יְהֹונָתָן עַל־בָּמֹותֶיךָ חָלָל׃	**Apposition –** Exemplification of 25a
	Jonathan [is] a slain one upon your high places *Single null copula clause line of 3C, 4PW*	
26a	צַר־לִי עָלֶיךָ אָחִי	**Non-Apposition** **Image 3**': David addresses Jonathan
	I have grief because of you, my brother *Single null copula clause line of 3C, 4PW*	
26b	יְהֹונָתָן נָעַמְתָּ לִי מְאֹד	**Non-Apposition**
	Jonathan, you were very pleasant to me *Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 4PW*	
26c	נִפְלְאַתָה אַהֲבָתְךָ לִי מֵאַהֲבַת נָשִׁים׃	**Apposition –** Intensifying Attributive to 26b
	Your love was more wonderful to me than the love of women *Single clause line of 4C, 4PW*	
27a	אֵיךְ נָפְלוּ גִבֹּורִים	**Non-Apposition – Resumption of Image 1'':** Proclamation of Saul and Jonathan's deaths (cf 19b, 25a)
	[The] mighty have fallen! *Single independent verbal clause line of 2C, 3PW*	
27b	וַיֹּאבְדוּ כְּלֵי מִלְחָמָה׃	**Apposition –** Reformulation of 27a
	The weapons of war are destroyed. *Single independent verbal clause line of 2C, 2PW*	

Appendix C
Lineal and Interlineal Analysis of Lamentations 1

Lineal Syntax is in the middle column; interlineal syntax is in the right column.

1a	אֵיכָה | יָשְׁבָה בָדָד הָעִיר	**Initial Image** The Desolate City *qua* City
Translit	*ʾêkâ* *yāšəbâ* *bādād* *hāʿîr*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3 PW4	
Const Level	– C1 C2 C3	
Synt Role	EXCL V AD S	
Translation	The city dwells alone!	
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 4PW*	
1b	רַבָּתִי עָם הָיְתָה כְּאַלְמָנָה	**Clausal Appositive to 1a** Reformulation
Translit	*rabbātî ʿām* *hāyətâ* *kəʾalmānâ*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3	
Const Level	C1 C2 C3	
Synt Role	S V PRED	
Translation	[The] populous people has become like a widow.	
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 3PW*	
1c	רַבָּתִי בַגּוֹיִם שָׂרָתִי בַּמְּדִינוֹת הָיְתָה לָמַס׃	**Clausal Appositive to 1b** **Image 1'** The Desolate City Personified as a Woman
Translit	*rabbātî baggôyim* *śārātî bammədînôt* *hāyətâ* *lāmas*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3 PW4	
Const Level	C1 C2 C3 C4	
Synt Role	S AD V COMP	
	ANCHOR APP OF REFORMULATION	
Translation	The populous one among the nations – the princess among the provinces! – has become a tribute.	
Line Type	*Independent verbal clause line of 4PW, 4C*	

2a	בָּכֹה֩ תִבְכֶּ֨ה בַלַּ֜יְלָה וְדִמְעָתָ֗הּ עַל לֶחֱיָ֔הּ	**Image 1': Additive Non-Apposition** The Desolate City Personified as a Woman
Translit	*bākô tibkeh ballaylâ wədimʿātāh ʿal leḥeyāh*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3 PW4 PW5	
Const Level	C1 C2 C3 C4	
Synt Role	TI V AD S [V] COMP	
Translation	She weeps bitterly in the night, her tears are upon her cheek;	
Line Type	*Double clause line of 4C, 5PW*	
2b	אֵין־לָ֙הּ֙ מְנַחֵ֣ם מִכָּל־אֹהֲבֶ֔יהָ	**Additive Non-Apposition**
Translit	*ʾên lāh mənaḥēm mikol ʾōhăbêhā*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3	
Const Level	C1 C2 C3 C4	
Synt Role	NEGV COMP S AD	
Translation	She has no (one) (who) comforts among all (who) love her.	
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 4C, 3PW*	
2c	כָּל־רֵעֶ֔יהָ בָּגְד֥וּ בָ֖הּ	**Clausal Appositive to 2b** Intensifying Attribution
Translit	*kol rēʿêhā bāgdû bāh*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3	
Const Level	C1 C2 C3	
Synt Role	S V COMP	
Translation	All her friends have betrayed her;	
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 3PW*	
2d	הָיוּ לָ֖הּ לְאֹיְבִֽים׃	**Clausal Appositive to 2c** Intensifying Attribution
Translit	[*kol rēʿêhā*] *hāyû lāh ləʾōyəbîm*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3	
Const Level	C1 C2 C3	
Synt Role	[ELIDED S] V COMP COMP	
Translation	[All her friends] have become enemies to her.	
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 3PW*	

3a	גָּלְתָה יְהוּדָה מֵעֹנִי וּמֵרֹב עֲבֹדָה	**Extraposed Clausal Appositive to 1a** Intensifying Attribution **Resumption of Image 1** The Desolate City *qua* City
Translit	*gāltâ yəhûdâ mēʿōnî ûmērōb ʿăbōdâ*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3 PW4	
Const Level	C1 C2 C3	
Synt Role	V S AD	
Translation	Judah has gone into exile by abuse and heavy labour;	
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 4PW*	
3b	הִיא יָשְׁבָה בַגּוֹיִם	**Clausal Appositive to 3a** Attribution
Translit	*hîʾ yāšəbâ baggôyim*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3	
Const Level	C1 C2 C3	
Synt Role	S V AD	
Translation	She dwells among the nations,	
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 3PW*	
3c	לֹא מָצְאָה מָנוֹחַ	**Additive Non-Apposition**
Translit	*lōʾ māṣʾâ mānôaḥ*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2	
Const Level	C1 C2	
Synt Role	NEG + V COMP	
Translation	she cannot find a resting-place.	
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 2C, 2PW*	
3d	כָּל־רֹדְפֶיהָ הִשִּׂיגוּהָ בֵּין הַמְּצָרִים׃	**Extraposed Clausal Appositive to 3a** Reformulation
Translit	*kol rōdpêhā hiśśîgûhā bên hamməṣārîm*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3	
Const Level	C1 C2 C3 C4	
Synt Role	S V + ATTPROCOMP AD	
Translation	All her pursuers overtook her between the straits.	
Line Type	*Independent verbal clause line of 4C, 3PW*	

4a	דַּרְכֵי צִיּוֹן אֲבֵלוֹת מִבְּלִי בָּאֵי מוֹעֵד	**Extraposed Clausal Appositive to 1a** Intensifying Attribution **Image 1** The Desolate City *qua* City
Translit	[*darkê ṣiyyôn ʾăbēlôt*] [*mibbəlî bāʾê môʿēd*]	
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3 PW4	
Const Level	C1 C2 C3 C4	
Synt Role	S [V] PRED AD	
	[ANCHOR] [APP OF REFORMULATION]	
Translation	The paths of Zion are mourning, without festival-goers	
Line Type	*Single null copula clause line of 4C, 4PW*	
4b	כָּל־שְׁעָרֶיהָ שֹׁמֵמִין כֹּהֲנֶיהָ נֶאֱנָחִים	**Extraposed Clausal Appositive to 4a** Descriptive Attribution
Translit	*kol šəʿārêhā šômēmîn kōhănêhā neʾĕnāḥîm*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3 PW4	
Const Level	C1 C2 C3 C4	
Synt Role	S [V] PRED S [V] PRED	
Translation	All her gates are desolate, her priests are groaning	
Line Type	*Double null copula clause line of 4C, 4PW*	
4c	בְּתוּלֹתֶיהָ נוּגוֹת וְהִיא מַר־לָהּ:	**Extraposed Clausal Appositive to 1a** Intensifying Attribution
Translit	*bətûlōtêhā nûgôt wəhîʾ mar lāh*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3 PW4	
Const Level	C1 C2 C3 C4	
Synt Role	S [V] PRED S [V] PRED	
Translation	Her young women are grieving; she – she has bitterness.	
Line Type	*Double null copula clause line of 4C, 4PW*	
5a	הָיוּ צָרֶיהָ לְרֹאשׁ	**Extraposed Clausal Appositive to 3a** Reformulation
Translit	*hāyû ṣārêhā lərōʾš*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3	
Const Level	C1 C2 C3	
Synt Role	V S COMP	
Translation	Her adversaries are [now] [the] head;	
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 3PW*	

5b	אֹיְבֶיהָ שָׁלוּ	**Clausal Appositive to 5a** Intensifying Attribution **Image 1** The Desolate City *qua* City
Translit	*ʾōyəbêhā* *šālû*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2	
Const Level	C1 C2	
Synt Role	S V	
Translation	Her enemies are [now] at ease.	
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause of 2C, 2PW*	

5c	כִּי־יְהוָה הוֹגָהּ עַל רֹב־פְּשָׁעֶיהָ	**Non Apposition** **Image 2** Yhwh as Disciplinarian
Translit	*kî* *yhwh* *hôgāh* *ʿal rōb pəšāʿêhā*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3 PW4	
Const Level	- C1 C2 C3 C4	
Synt Role	EMPH S V+ATTPROCOMP AD	
Translation	Surely Yhwh has caused her to suffer on account of the multitude of her transgressions!	
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 4C, 4PW*	

5d	עוֹלָלֶיהָ הָלְכוּ שְׁבִי לִפְנֵי־צָר׃	**Resumption of Image 1,** The Desolate City *qua* City **Extraposed Clausal Appositive to 3a** Descriptive Attribution
Translit	*ʿôlālêhā* *hāləkû* *šəbî* *lipnê-ṣār*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3 PW4	
Const Level	C1 C2 C3 C4	
Synt Role	S V SP AD	
Translation	Her children went [as] captives before an adversary–	
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 4C, 4PW*	

6a	וַיֵּצֵא מִן־בַּת־[מִ][בַּת]־צִיּוֹן כָּל־הֲדָרָהּ	**Clausal Appositive to 5d** Reformulation
Translit	*wayyēṣēʾ* *mibbat ṣiyyôn* *kol hădārāh*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3	
Const Level	C1 C2 C3	
Synt Role	V AD S	
Translation	All her splendour has gone out from Daughter Zion.	
Line Type	*Independent verbal clause line of 3C, 3PW*	

6b	הָיוּ שָׂרֶיהָ כְּאַיָּלִים	**Extraposed Clausal Appositive to 5a** Descriptive Attribution **Image 1** The Desolate City *qua* City
Translit	*hāyû śārêhā kəʾayyālîm*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3	
Const Level	C1 C2 C3	
Synt Role	V S COMP	
Translation	Her leaders are like deer	
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 3PW*	
6c	לֹא־מָצְאוּ מִרְעֶה	**Non Apposition: Enjambment**
Translit	*lōʾ māṣʾû mirʿeh*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2	
Const Level	C1 C2	
Synt Role	NEG + V COMP	
Translation	[that] cannot find pasture;	
Line Type	*Dependent unmarked relative clause line of 2C, 2PW*	
6d	וַיֵּלְכוּ בְלֹא־כֹחַ לִפְנֵי רוֹדֵף׃	**Extraposed Clausal Appositive to 6b** Descriptive Attribution
Translit	*wayyēləkû bəlōʾ kōaḥ lipnê rôdēp*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3	
Const Level	C1 C2 C3	
Synt Role	V AD AD	
Translation	They went without strength before pursuers.	
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 3PW*	
7a	זָכְרָה יְרוּשָׁלַ͏ִם יְמֵי עָנְיָהּ וּמְרוּדֶיהָ	**Extraposed Clausal Appositive to 1c** Descriptive Attribution **Development of Image 1':** The Desolate City Personified as a Woman
Translit	*zākərâ yərûšālaim yəmê ʿānəyāh ûmərûdêhā*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3 PW4	
Const Level	C1 C2 C3	
Synt Role	V S COMP	
Translation	Jerusalem remembers the days of her affliction and her wanderings,	
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 4PW*	

7b	כָּל מַחֲמַדֶּיהָ אֲשֶׁר הָיוּ מִימֵי קֶדֶם	**Non Apposition: Enjambment** Line 7b is another complement to זכרה in 7a
Translit	*kōl maḥămudêhā* *ʾăšer hāyû mîmê qedem*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3	
Const Level	C1 [– C2 C3]	
Synt Role	COMP TO זכרה IN 7A [REL WORD V COMP] [RELATIVE CLAUSE MODIFYING כל מחמדיה]	
Translation	All of her precious things, which were from ancient days.	
Line Type	*Single dependent phrase line of 3C, 3PW*	
7c	בִּנְפֹל עַמָּהּ בְּיַד־צָר	**Non Apposition** Temporal clause dependent on 7d
Translit	*binəpōl ʿammāh bəyad ṣār*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3	
Const Level	C1 C2 C3	
Synt Role	V S AD	
Translation	When her people fell into the hand of an adversary,	
Line Type	*Dependent temporal clause line of 3C, 3PW*	
7d	וְאֵין עוֹזֵר לָהּ	**Non Apposition: Enjambment** Main clause on which 7c is dependent
Translit	*wəʾên ʿōzēr lāh*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2	
Const Level	C1 C2 C3	
Synt Role	NEGV S AD	
Translation	A helper did not exist for her.	
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 2PW*	
7e	רָאֻהָ צָרִים	**Additive Non Apposition**
Translit	*rāʾûhā ṣārîm*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2	
Const Level	C1 C2 C3	
Synt Role	V + ATTPROCOMP S	
Translation	Adversaries look at her;	
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 2PW*	

7f	שְׂחֲקוּ עַל מִשְׁבַּתֶּהָ׃	**Clausal Appositive to 7e** Intensifying Attribution
Translit	*śāḥăqû* *ʿal mišbattehā*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2	
Const Level	C1 C2	
Synt Role	V AD	
Translation	they laugh at her shattering.	
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 2C, 2PW*	
8a	חֵטְא חָטְאָה יְרוּשָׁלַ͏ִם	**Non Apposition** Development of **Image 1:** The Desolate City *qua* City
Translit	*ḥēṭʾ* *ḥāṭəʾâ* *yərûšālaim*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3	
Const Level	C1 C2 C3	
Synt Role	COMP V S	
Translation	A sin Jerusalem sinned;	
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 3PW, 3C*	
8b	עַל־כֵּן לְנִידָה הָיְתָה	**Non Apposition** **Enjambed** result clause dependent on 8a Development of **Image 1':** The Desolate City Personified as a Woman
Translit	*ʿal kēn* *lənîdâ* *hāyātâ*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3	
Const Level	C1 C2 C3	
Synt Role	AD COMP V	
Translation	For this reason she became an impure thing.	
Line Type	*Dependent verbal clause line of 3C, 3PW*	
8c	כָּל־מְכַבְּדֶיהָ הִזִּילוּהָ	**Extraposed Clausal Appositive to 2c** Reformulation
Translit	*kol məkabbədêhā* *hizzîlûhā*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2	
Const Level	C1 C2 C3	
Synt Role	S V + ATTPROCOMP	
Translation	All those who honour her [now] despise her	
Line Type	*Independent verbal clause line of 3C, 2PW*	

8d	כִּי־רָאוּ עֶרְוָתָהּ	**Non Apposition** **Enjambed** causal clause dependent on main clause in 8c
Translit	*kî* *rāʾû* *ʿerwātāh*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3	
Const Level	– C1 C2	
Synt Role	SUBORD PART V COMP	
Translation	because they have seen her nakedness;	
Line Type	*Dependent verbal clause line of 2C, 3PW*	
8e	גַּם־הִיא נֶאֶנְחָה וַתָּשָׁב אָחוֹר:	**Additive Non Apposition**
Translit	*gam hîʾ* *neʾenḥâ* *wattāšob* *ʾāḥôr*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3 PW4	
Const Level	– C1 C2 C3 C4	
Synt Role	EMPH S V V AD	
Translation	Indeed, she groaned and turned away.	
Line Type	*Double clause line of 4C, 4PW*	
9a	טֻמְאָתָהּ בְּשׁוּלֶיהָ לֹא זָכְרָה אַחֲרִיתָהּ	**Extraposed Clausal Appositive to 8b** Descriptive Attribution
Translit	*ṭumʾātāh* *bəšûlêhā* *lōʾ zākərâ* *ʾaḥărîtāh*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3 PW4	
Const Level	C1 C2 C3 C4	
Synt Role	S [V] COMP NEG + V COMP	
Translation	Her uncleanness [is] on her skirts – she did not consider her end –	
Line Type	*Double clause line of 4C, 4PW*	
9b	וַתֵּרֶד פְּלָאִים	**Extraposed Clausal Appositive to 3a** Descriptive Attribution
Translit	*wattēred* *pəlāʾîm*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2	
Const Level	C1 C2	
Synt Role	V AD	
Translation	She went down spectacularly.	
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 2C, 2PW*	

9c	אֵין מְנַחֵם לָהּ	**Extraposed Clausal Appositive to 8c** Reformulation
Translit	*ʾên mənaḥēm lāh*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2	
Const Level	C1 C2 C3	
Synt Role	NEGV S AD	
Translation	(One) (who) comforts does not exist for her.	
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 2PW*	

9d	רְאֵה יְהוָה אֶת־עָנְיִי	**Non Apposition** First instance of direct speech
Translit	*rəʾēh yhwh ʾet ʿonyî*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3	
Const Level	C1 – C2	
Synt Role	V VOC COMP	
Translation	"See, O Yhwh, my affliction,	
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 2C, 3PW*	

9e	כִּי הִגְדִּיל אוֹיֵב׃	**Non Apposition Enjambment** Line e is a descriptive clausal appositive to אֶת־עָנְיִי in 9d
Translit	*kî higdîl ʾôyēb*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3	
Const Level	– C1 C2	
Synt Role	[COMPLEMENTIZER V S] COMPLEMENTIZER CLAUSE MODIFYING אֶת־עָנְיִי IN 1:9d	
Translation	that [the] enemy has become great!"	
Line Type	*Single dependent verbal clause line of 2C, 3PW*	

10a	יָדוֹ פָּרַשׂ צָר עַל כָּל־מַחֲמַדֶּיהָ	**Clausal Appositive to 9e** Descriptive Attribution
Translit	*yādô pāraś ṣār ʿal kol maḥămaddêhā*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3 PW4	
Const Level	C1 C2 C3 C4	
Synt Role	COMP V S AD	
Translation	The adversary stretched his hand over all her precious things,	
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 4C, 4PW*	

10b	כִּי־רָאָתָה גוֹיִם בָּאוּ מִקְדָּשָׁהּ	**Clausal Appositive to 10a** Intensifying Attribution
Translit	*kî rāʾătâ gôyim bāʾû miqdāšāh*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3 [PW4 PW5]	
Const Level	– C1 C2 [C3 C4]	
Synt Role	EMPH V COMP [REL CLAUSE MODIFYING גוים]	
Translation	She saw nations [that] entered her sanctuary!,	
Line Type	*Independent verbal clause line of 4C, 5PW*	

10c	אֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתָה לֹא־יָבֹאוּ בַקָּהָל לָךְ׃	**Non Apposition** Enjambed relative clause modifying גוים in 10b
Translit	*ʾăšer ṣiwwîtâ lōʾ yābōʾû baqqāhāl lāk*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3 PW4	
Const Level	– C1 C2 C3	
Synt Role	REL WORD V [NEG + V PP COMP] [UNMARKED COMPLEMENT CLAUSE]	
Translation	[Nations] that you commanded may not enter your assembly.	
Line Type	*Dependent clause line of 3C, 4PW*	

11a	כָּל־עַמָּהּ נֶאֱנָחִים מְבַקְּשִׁים לֶחֶם	**Extraposed Clausal Apposition to 6b, c** Intensifying Attribution
Translit	*kol ʾammāh neʾĕnāḥîm məbaqqəšîm leḥem*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3 PW4	
Const Level	C1 C2 C3	
Synt Role	S [V] PRED SP	
Translation	All of her people [are] groaning, seeking bread;	
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 4PW*	

11b	נָתְנוּ מַחֲמוּדֵיהֶם [מַחֲמַדֵּיהֶם] בְּאֹכֶל לְהָשִׁיב נָפֶשׁ	**Clausal Appositive to 11a** Descriptive Attribution
Translit	*nātənû maḥămaddêhem bəʾōkel ləhāšîb nāpeš*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3 PW4 PW5	
Const Level	C1 C2 C3 C4	
Synt Role	V COMP AD AD	
Translation	They trade their precious things in exchange for food to restore life.	

Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line (with dependent infinitival clause) 4CW, 5PW*	
11c	רְאֵה יְהוָה וְהַבִּיטָה	**Extraposed Clausal Appositive to 9d** Second instance of speech directed at Yhwh
Translit	*rəʾēh yhwh wəhabbîṭâ*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3	
Const Level	C1 – C2	
Synt Role	V VOC V	
Translation	"Look, O Yhwh, and see	
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 2C, 3PW*	
11d	כִּי הָיֵיתִי זוֹלֵלָה:	**Non Apposition** Enjambment Line 11d is the complement clause to הביטה in 11c
Translit	*kî hāyîtî zôlēlâ*	
Word Level	[PW1 PW2 PW3]	
Const Level	[C1]	
Synt Role	[COMP TO הביטה in 9c]	
Translation	that I am worthless!"	
Line Type	*Dependent clause line of 1C, 3PW*	
12a	לֹוא אֲלֵיכֶם כָּל־עֹבְרֵי דָּרֶךְ	**Non Apposition** Speech Directed at Passersby
Translit	*lôʾ ʾălêkem kol ʿōbrê derek*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3	
Const Level	C1 C2 C3	
Synt Role	NEG+[V] COMP AD	
Translation	"[I am] not [worthless] to you, all passersby [on the] way!	
Line Type	*Single null copula clause line of 3C, 3PW*	
12b	הַבִּיטוּ וּרְאוּ	**Non Apposition** Main clause for 12c
Translit	*habbîṭû ûrəʾû*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2	
Const Level	C1 C2	
Synt Role	V V	
Translation	Look and see	

Line Type	*Double clause line of 2C, 2PW*	
12c	אִם־יֵ֫שׁ מַכְאוֹבַ֥י כְּמַכְאֹבִ֑י	**Non Apposition** Enjambment
Translit	*ʾim yēš makʾôb kəmakʾōbî*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3 PW4	
Const Level	– C1 C2 C3	
Synt Role	FN V S AD	
Translation	If a pain exists like my pain –	
Line Type	*Dependent verbal clause line of 3C, 4PW*	
12d	אֲשֶׁר עוֹלַ֖ל לִֽי	**Non Apposition** Enjambment
Translit	*ʾăšer ʿôlal lî*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2	
Const Level	– C1 C2	
Synt Role	REL WORD V COMP	
Translation	which he dealt out [it] on me,	
Line Type	*Dependent verbal clause line of 2C, 2PW*	
12e	אֲשֶׁר֙ הוֹגָ֣ה יְהוָ֔ה בְּי֖וֹם חֲר֥וֹן אַפּֽוֹ׃	**Non Apposition** Enjambment **Image 2: Yhwh as Disciplinarian**
Translit	*ʾăšer hôgâh yhwh bəyôm ḥărôn ʾappô*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3	
Const Level	– C1 C2 C3	
Synt Role	REL WORD V S AD	
Translation	which Yhwh has caused [me] to suffer on the day of his burning anger.	
Line Type	*Dependent verbal clause line of 3C, 3PW*	
13a	מִמָּר֛וֹם שָׁלַ֥ח־אֵ֖שׁ	**Extraposed Clausal Appositive to 5c** Descriptive Attribution
Translit	*mimmārôm šālaḥ ʾēš*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3	
Const Level	C1 C2 C3	
Synt Role	AD V COMP	
Translation	From [the] heights he sent fire,	

Line Type	*Independent verbal clause line of 3C, 3PW*	
13b	בְּעַצְמֹתַי וַיִּרְדֶּנָּה	**Non Apposition** Enjambment
Translit	*bəʿaṣmōtay wayyirdennâ*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2	
Const Level	C1 C2 C3	
Synt Role	Ad V + AttProComp	
Translation	Into my bones, he ruled over it.	
Line Type	*Dependent verbal clause line of 3C, 2PW*	
13c	פָּרַשׂ רֶשֶׁת לְרַגְלָי	**Extraposed Clausal Appositive to 5c** Descriptive Attribution
Translit	*pāraś rešetləraglay*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3	
Const Level	C1 C2 C3	
Synt Role	V Comp Ad	
Translation	He spread a net for my feet,	
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 3PW*	
13d	הֱשִׁיבַנִי אָחוֹר	**Extraposed Clausal Appositive to 5c** Descriptive Attribution
Translit	*hĕšîbanî ʾāḥôr*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2	
Const Level	C1 C2 C3	
Synt Role	V + AttProComp Ad	
Translation	He made me turn back,	
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 2PW*	
13e	נְתָנַנִי שֹׁמֵמָה	**Extraposed Clausal Appositive to 5c** Descriptive Attribution
Translit	*nətānanî šōmēmâ*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2	
Const Level	C1 C2 C3	
Synt Role	V + AttProComp Comp	
Translation	He made me desolate –	
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 2PW*	

13f	כָּל־הַיּוֹם דָּוֶה׃	**Clausal Appositive to 13e**
Translit	*kol hayyôm dāwâ*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2	
Const Level	C1 C2	
Synt Role	AD [V] COMP	
Translation	Every day (I) (am) faint.	
Line Type	*Single null copula clause line of 2C, 2PW*	
14a	נִשְׂקַד עֹל פְּשָׁעַי בְּיָדוֹ יִשְׂתָּרְגוּ	**Extraposed Clausal Appositive to 5c** Descriptive Attribution
Translit	*niśqad ʿōl pəšāʿay bəyādô yiśtārgû*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3 PW4	
Const Level	C1 C2 C3 C4	
Synt Role	V S AD V	
Translation	A yoke of my transgressions was bound; by his hand they were fastened together –	
Line Type	*Double clause line of 4C, 4PW*	
14b	עָלְוּ עַל־צַוָּארִי הִכְשִׁיל כֹּחִי	**Additive Non Apposition**
Translit	*ʿālû ʿal ṣawwāʾrî hikšîl kōḥî*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3 PW4	
Const Level	C1 C2 C3 C4	
Synt Role	V AD V COMP	
Translation	They went up upon my neck; he made my strength stumble.	
Line Type	*Double clause line of 4C, 4PW*	
14c	נְתָנַנִי אֲדֹנָי בִּידֵי לֹא־אוּכַל קוּם׃	**Extraposed Clausal Appositive to 5c** Descriptive Attribution
Translit	*nətānanî ʾădōnāy bîdê lō ʾûkal qûm*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3 PW4 PW5	
Const Level	C1 C2 C3 C4	
Synt Role	V+ATTPROCOMP S COMP	
Translation	The Lord gave me into the hands of (the one) (who) I am not able to stand (against him).	

Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 4C, 5PW*	
15a	סִלָּה כָל־אַבִּירַי	אֲדֹנָי בְּקִרְבִּי	**Clausal Appositive to 14c** Reformulation
Translit	*sillâ*	*kol ʾabîray*	*ʾădōnāy*	*bəqirbî*	
Word Level	PW1	PW2	PW3	PW4	
Const Level	C1	C2	C3	C4	
Synt Role	V	COMP	S	AD	
Translation	The Lord spurned all my mighty men in my midst;				
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 4C, 4PW*				
15b	קָרָא עָלַי מוֹעֵד לִשְׁבֹּר בַּחוּרָי	**Clausal Appositive to 15a** Reformulation
Translit	*qārāʾ*	*ʿālay*	*môʿēd*	*lišbōr*	*baḥûrāy*	
Word Level	PW1	PW2	PW3	PW4	PW5	
Const Level	C1	C2	C3	C4		
Synt Role	V	AD	COMP	DEPENDENT INF CLAUSE		
Translation	He summoned an assembly against me to shatter my mighty men.					
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 4C, 5PW*					
15c	גַּת דָּרַךְ אֲדֹנָי לִבְתוּלַת בַּת־יְהוּדָה:	**Clausal Appositive to 15b** Reformulation
Translit	*gat*	*dārak*	*ʾădōnāy*	*libtûlat bat yəhûdâ*	
Word Level	PW1	PW2	PW3	PW4	
Const Level	C1	C2	C3	C4	
Synt Role	COMP	V	S	AD	
Translation	A winepress the Lord treaded for Virgin Daughter Judah,				
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 4C, 4PW*				
16a	עַל־אֵלֶּה	אֲנִי בוֹכִיָּה	**Non Apposition** **Image 1'** The Desolate City Personified as a Woman
Translit	*ʾal ʾēlleh*	*ʾănî*	*bôkiyyāh*	
Word Level	PW1	PW2	PW3	
Const Level	C1	C2	C3	
Synt Role	AD	S	[V] PRED	
Translation	On account of these things I am weeping.			

Line Type	*Single independent null copula clause line of 3C, 3PW*	
16b	עֵינִי ׀ עֵינִי יָרְדָה מָּיִם	**Clausal Appositive to אני בוכיה in 16a** Descriptive Attribution
Translit	*ʿênî ʿênî yōrdâ mayim*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3 PW4	
Const Level	C1 C2 C3	
Synt Role	S [V] COMP AD	
Translation	My eye, my eye (is) descending waters	
Line Type	*Single independent null copula clause line of 3C, 4PW*	
16c	כִּי־רָחַק מִמֶּנִּי מְנַחֵם	**Non Apposition Enjambment** Causal clause is dependent on 16b
Translit	*kî rāḥaq mimmennî mənaḥēm*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3 PW4	
Const Level	– C1 C2 C3	
Synt Role	FN WORD V COMP S	
Translation	Because far from me is (one) (who) comforts;	
Line Type	*Single independent null copula clause line of 3C, 4PW*	
16d	מֵשִׁיב נַפְשִׁי	**Clausal Appositive to 16c** Reformulation
Translit	*mēšîb napšî* [*rāḥaq mimmennî*]	
Word Level	PW1 PW2	
Const Level	C1	
Synt Role	AD	
Translation	(one) (who) restores my soul [is far from me]	
Line Type	*Dependent phrase line of 1C, 2PW*	
16e	הָיְוּ בָנַי שׁוֹמֵמִים	**Additive Non Apposition**
Translit	*hāyû bānay šômēmîm*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3	
Const Level	C1 C2 C3	
Synt Role	V S COMP	
Translation	My children are desolate	

Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 3PW*	
16f	כִּי גָבַר אוֹיֵב׃	**Non Apposition** **Enjambment** Causal clause is dependent on 16e
Translit	*kî gābar ʾôyēb*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3	
Const Level	– C1 C2	
Synt Role	Fn Word V S	
Translation	because the enemy has become strong.”	
Line Type	*Single dependent verbal clause line of 2C, 3PW*	
17a	פֵּרְשָׂה צִיּוֹן בְּיָדֶיהָ	**Non Apposition** **Image 1'** The Desolate City Personified as a Woman
Translit	*pērəśâ ṣiyyôn bəyādêhā*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3	
Const Level	C1 C2 C3	
Synt Role	V S Comp	
Translation	Zion spreads out her hands,	
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 3PW*	
17b	אֵין מְנַחֵם לָהּ	**Additive** **Non Apposition**
Translit	*ʾên mənaḥēm lāh*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2	
Const Level	C1 C2 C3	
Synt Role	NegV S Ad	
Translation	(One) (who) comforts does not exist for her.	
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 2PW*	
17c	צִוָּה יְהוָה לְיַעֲקֹב	**Non Apposition** **Image 2** Yhwh as Disciplinarian
Translit	*ṣiwwâ yhwh ləyaʿăqōb*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3	
Const Level	C1 C2 C3	
Synt Role	V S Ad	
Translation	Yhwh commands concerning Jacob:	
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 3PW*	

17d	סְבִיבָיו צָרָיו	**Non Apposition Enjambment**
Translit	*səbîbāyw ṣārāyw*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2	
Const Level	C1	
Synt Role	COMP TO צוה IN 17C	
Translation	"(Those) surrounding him [are] his adversaries."	
Line Type	*Null copula clause line of 1C, 2PW*	
17e	הָיְתָה יְרוּשָׁלַ͏ִם לְנִדָּה בֵּינֵיהֶם׃	**Extraposed Clausal Appositive to 9a** **Image 1'** The Desolate City Personified as a Woman
Translit	*hāytâ yərûšālaim ləniddâ bênêhem*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3 PW4	
Const Level	C1 C2 C3 C4	
Synt Role	V S COMP AD	
Translation	Jerusalem is an impure thing in their midst.	
Line Type	*Single verbal clause line of 4C, 4PW*	
18a	צַדִּיק הוּא יְהוָה	**Non Apposition** **Image 2** Yhwh as Disciplinarian
Translit	*ṣaddîq hû' yhwh*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3	
Const Level	C1 C2 C3	
Synt Role	COMP [V] S APP OF IDENTIFICATION	
Translation	"Righteous is he, Yhwh!	
Line Type	*Single null copula clause line of 3C, 3PW*	
18b	כִּי פִיהוּ מָרִיתִי	**Non Apposition Enjambment** 18b is subordinate to 18a **Image 1'** The Desolate City Personified as a Woman
Translit	*kî pîhû mārîtî*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3	
Const Level	– C1 C2	
Synt Role	CONJ COMP V	
Translation	But against his mouth I rebelled.	
Line Type	*Dependent verbal clause line of 2C, 3PW*	

18c	שִׁמְעוּ־נָ֣א כָל־עַמִּים [הֶ][עַמִּים] וּרְאוּ֙ מַכְאֹבִ֔י	**Extraposed Clausal Appositive to 12b, c** Reformulation
Translit	*<u>šimʿû nāʾ</u> <u>kol ʿammîm</u> ûrəʾû makʾōbî*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3 PW4	
Const Level	C1 – C2 C3	
Synt Role	V VOC V COMP	
Translation	Hear, all [you] nations! See my pain!	
Line Type	*Double clause line of 3C, 4PW*	
18d	בְּתוּלֹתַ֥י וּבַחוּרָ֖י הָלְכ֥וּ בַשֶּֽׁבִי׃	**Clausal Appositive to מכאבי in 18c** Identification
Translit	*bətûlōtay ûbaḥûray hāləkû baššebî*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3 PW4	
Const Level	C1 C2 C3	
Synt Role	S V COMP	
Translation	My young women and my young men have gone into captivity.	
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 4PW*	
19a	קָרָ֣אתִי לַמְאַהֲבַ֔י	**Additive Non Apposition**
Translit	*qārāʾtî lamʾahăbay*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2	
Const Level	C1 C2	
Synt Role	V COMP	
Translation	I call to (those) (who) loved me,	
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 2C, 2PW*	
19b	הֵ֖מָּה רִמּ֥וּנִי	**Additive Non Apposition**
Translit	*hēmmâ rimmûnî*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2	
Const Level	C1 C2 C3	
Synt Role	S V+ATTPROCOMP	
Translation	They betrayed me.	
Line Type	*Verbal clause line of 3C, 2PW*	

19c	כֹּהֲנַי וּזְקֵנַי בָּעִיר גָּוָעוּ	**Additive Non Apposition**
Translit	*kōhănay ûzqēnay bāʿîr gāwāʿû*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3 PW4	
Const Level	C1 C2 C3	
Synt Role	S AD V	
Translation	My priests and my elders died in the city	
Line Type	*Verbal clause line of 3C, 4PW*	
19d	כִּי־בִקְשׁוּ אֹכֶל לָמוֹ	**Non Apposition Enjambment** Temporal Clause dependent on 19c
Translit	*kî biqšû ʾōkel lāmô*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3 PW4	
Const Level	– C1 C2 C3	
Synt Role	V COMP AD	
Translation	when they sought food for themselves	
Line Type	*Single verbal clause line of 3C, 4PW*	
19e	וְיָשִׁיבוּ אֶת־נַפְשָׁם׃	**Non Apposition Enjambment** Purpose Clause dependent on 19d
Translit	*wəyāšîbû ʾet-napšām*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2	
Const Level	C1 C2	
Synt Role	V COMP	
Translation	so that they might restore their life.”	
Line Type	*Single verbal clause line of 2C, 2PW*	
20a	רְאֵה יְהוָה כִּי־צַר־לִי׃	**Extraposed Clausal Appositive to 9d** Reformulation **Image 1'** The Desolate City Personified as a Woman
Translit	*rəʾēh yhwh kî ṣar lî*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3 PW4 PW5	
Const Level	C1 – [C2]	
Synt Role	V VOC [*kî* CLAUSE COMP]	
Translation	“See, O Yhwh that I have distress!	
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line (with kî clause complement) of 2C, 5PW*	

20b	מֵעַי חָמַרְמָרוּ	**Additive Non Apposition**
Translit	*mēʿay hŏmarmārû*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2	
Const Level	C1 C2	
Synt Role	S V	
Translation	My guts are fermenting,	
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 2C, 2PW*	

20c	נֶהְפַּךְ לִבִּי בְּקִרְבִּי	**Clausal Appositive to 20b** Reformulation
Translit	*nehpak libbî bəqirbî*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3	
Const Level	C1 C2 C3	
Synt Role	V S COMP	
Translation	my heart is changed within me –	
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 3PW*	

20d	כִּי מָרֹו מָרִיתִי	**Additive Non Apposition**
Translit	*kî mārô mārîtî*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3	
Const Level	– C1	
Synt Role	EMPH PARTICLE TI V	
Translation	I was wholly rebellious!	
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 1C, 3PW*	

20e	מִחוּץ שִׁכְלָה־חֶרֶב	**Extraposed Clausal Appositive to 20a**
Translit	*miḥûṣ šiklâ ḥereb*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3	
Const Level	C1 C2 C3	
Synt Role	AD V S	
Translation	Outside, the sword bereaves;	
Line Type	*Single verbal clause line of 3C, 3PW*	

20f	בַּבַּיִת כַּמָּוֶת׃	**Clausal Appositive to 20e** Intensifying Attribution
Translit	*babbayit kammāwet*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2	
Const Level	C1 C2	
Synt Role	PRED [V] [S] AD	
Translation	In the house (is) (something) like death.	
Line Type	*Single null copula clause line of 2C, 2PW*	

21a	שָׁמְעוּ כִּי נֶאֱנָחָה אָנִי	**Extraposed Clausal Appositive to 19a** Descriptive Attribution
Translit	*šāməʿû kî neʾĕnāḥâ ʾānî*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3 PW4	
Const Level	C1 [C2]	
Synt Role	V [*kî* CLAUSE COMP]	
Translation	They hear that I am groaning	
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line (with kî clause complement) of 2C, 4PW*	

21b	אֵין מְנַחֵם לִי	**Extraposed Clausal Appositive to 19b** Intensifying Attribution
Translit	*ʾên mənaḥēm lāh*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2	
Const Level	C1 C2 C3	
Synt Role	NEGV S AD	
Translation	(One) (who) comforts does not exist for me.	
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 2PW*	

21c	כָּל-אֹיְבַי שָׁמְעוּ רָעָתִי	**Extraposed Clausal Appositive to 21a** Intensifying Attribution
Translit	*kol ʾōyəbay šāməʿû rāʿātî*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3	
Const Level	C1 C2 C3	
Synt Role	S V COMP	
Translation	All my enemies have heard [about] my calamity,	
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 3PW*	

21d	שָׂשׂוּ כִּי אַתָּה עָשִׂיתָ	**Extraposed Clausal Appositive to 21b** Intensifying Attribution
Translit	*śāśû kî ʾattâ ʿāśîtā*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3 PW4	
Const Level	C1 [C2]	
Synt Role	V [*kî* CLAUSE COMP]	
Translation	They rejoice that you have done [this]!	
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line (with kî clause complement) of 2C, 4PW*	
21e	הֵבֵאתָ יוֹם־קָרָאתָ	**Extraposed Clausal Appositive to 20a** Identification
Translit	*hēbēʾtā yôm qārāʾtā*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3	
Const Level	C1 C2	
Synt Role	V [UNMARKED RESTRICTIVE REL CLAUSE COMP]	
Translation	You have brought the day [that] you announced	
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line (with unmarked relative clause complement) of 3C, 3PW*	
21f	וְיִהְיוּ כָמוֹנִי׃	**Additive Non Apposition**
Translit	*wəyihyû kāmônî*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2	
Const Level	C1 C2	
Synt Role	V COMP	
Translation	Let them become like me!	
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 2C, 2PW*	
22a	תָּבֹא כָל־רָעָתָם לְפָנֶיךָ	**Clausal Appositive to 21f** Reformulation
Translit	*tābōʾ kol rāʿātām ləpānêkā*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3	
Const Level	C1 C2 C3	
Synt Role	V COMP AD	
Translation	Let all their wickedness come before you;	
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 3C, 3PW*	

22b	וְעוֹלֵל לָמוֹ	**Additive Non Apposition**
Translit	*wəʿôlēl lāmô*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2	
Const Level	C1 C2	
Synt Role	V COMP	
Translation	Deal severely with them	
Line Type	*Single independent verbal clause line of 2C, 2PW*	

22c	כַּאֲשֶׁר עוֹלַלְתָּ לִי עַל כָּל־פִּשָׁעָי	**Non Apposition** Enjambment
Translit	*kaʾăšer ʿôlālətā lî ʿal kol pəšāʿāy*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3	
Const Level	– C1 C2 C3	
Synt Role	FN WORD V COMP AD	
Translation	Just as you have dealt severely with me on account of my iniquities!	
Line Type	*Single dependent verbal clause line of 3C, 3PW*	

22d	כִּי־רַבּוֹת אַנְחֹתַי וְלִבִּי דַוָּי:	**Additive Non Apposition**
Translit	*kî rabbôt ʾanḥōtay wəlibbî dawwāy*	
Word Level	PW1 PW2 PW3 PW4 PW5	
Const Level	– C1 C2 C3 C4	
Synt Role	FN PRED [V] S S [V] PRED	
Translation	Many are my groans, my heart is faint!”	
Line Type	*Double null copula clause line of 4C, 5PW*	